

THE BUDDHIST CONQUEST OF CHINA

THE SPREAD AND ADAPTATION OF BUDDHISM
IN EARLY MEDIEVAL CHINA

NOTES — BIBLIOGRAPHY — INDEXES

E. ZÜRCHER

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NOTES — BIBLIOGRAPHY — INDEXES



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1959

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NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

¹ The first Chinese who is known to have mastered Sanskrit is the late fourth century translator Chu Fo-nien (cf. p. 202); before that time, some Chinese monks and laymen like Nieh Tao-chen, Nieh Ch'eng-yüan (cf. p. 68) and Po Yüan (p. 76) appear to have acquired some linguistic training as assistants of foreign translators. On the other hand, some foreign missionaries were well-versed in Chinese (K'ang Seng-hui, Chih Ch'ien, Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva). However, the most prominent Chinese masters and exegetes of this period (people like Chih Tun, Tao-an, Chu Fa-t'ai, Hui-yüan etc.) ignored Sanskrit altogether. Cf. R. H. van Gulik, *Siddham, an Essay on the History of Sanskrit Studies in China and Japan*, Nagpur 1956, esp. p. 12-14.

² At least not in the South. In the North, ruled by "barbarian" dynasties, we do find some traces of revolutionary movements with a Buddhist tinge, cf. J. Gernet, *Les aspects économiques du bouddhisme* (Paris 1956), p. 278, and below, p. 183.

³ For the terms *hsüan-hsüeh* and "Neo-Taoism" cf. below, p. 87 and p. 289.

⁴ Cf. E. G. Pulleyblank, "Gentry Society"; some remarks on recent work by W. Eberhard", *BSOAS* XV (1953) p. 588 sqq.

⁵ Wang I-t'ung 王伊同, *Wu-ch'ao men-ti* 五朝門第 ("The social, political and economic aspects of the influential clans of the Southern Dynasties"), 2 vols., published by the Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies of the University of Nanking (金陵大學中國文化研究所), Ch'engtu 1943.

⁶ Cf. H. Franke, *Sinologie*, p. 112-113 and the literature mentioned there.

⁷ On this work see below, p. 10, *sub* (1).

⁸ KSC VI 358.1.6.

⁹ *ib.* VI 364.2.27.

¹⁰ *ib.* VI 365.1.9.

¹¹ *ib.* VII 367.2.1.

¹² *ib.* VI 362.3.15.

¹³ *ib.* I 327.3.8.

¹⁴ *ib.* VI 356.2.26.

¹⁵ *ib.* IV 351.1.6.

¹⁶ *ib.* V 356.3.8.

¹⁷ Cf. H. Franke, "Some remarks on the interpretation of Chinese Dynastic Histories", in *Oriens* III (Leiden, 1950) p. 113-122; about so-called "poverty" esp. p. 121 sqq.

¹⁸ E.g., Fa-hsien 法顯 (KSC III 337.2.21), Tao-sui 道遂 (*ib.* IV 350.2.13), Tao-an 道安 (*ib.* V 351.3.4), Fa-k'uang 法曠 (*ib.* V 356.3.7), Tao-heng 道愷 (*ib.* VI 364.2.26), Seng-ch'ö 僧徹 (*ib.* VII 370.3.3).

¹⁹ *ib.* I 327.1.13 and 327.2.29.

²⁰ *ib.* IV 347.3.12.

²¹ *ib.* IV 350.3.12.

²² *ib.* V 356.2.25.

²³ *ib.* VI 363.1.29.

²⁴ *ib.* IV 347.1.18.

²⁵ *ib.* IV 348.2-8.

²⁶ *ib.* V 351.3.3.

²⁷ *ib.* VI 357.3.20.

²⁸ For the other important aspect of the *saṅgha*, that of "political neutrality" which is characteristic of at least one famous Buddhist centre in the late fourth century, cf. below, p. 216.

²⁹ Cf. *Hōbōgirin*, s.v. *Busshi*.

³⁰ The basic source for the Buddhist theory concerning the origin of the castes is *Agaññasutta*, *Dīgha* XXVII. 21 sqq. = *Dialogues* III. 77 sqq. For the parable of the ocean and the rivers see e.g., *Tseng-i a-han* (T 125) XXI 658.3.10. Cf. also the fourth of the five dreams of the Buddha on the night before his Enlightenment in which he saw that four birds of different colours, symbolizing the members of the four castes, came from the four quarters and, falling at the Buddha's feet, became white; *Anguttara* III. 240 = *Gradual Sayings* III p. 176; *Mvst.* II. 136, trsl. J. J. Jones vol. II p. 131.

³¹ *KSC* V 351.3.3.

³² *ib.* V 356.2.3; var. T'an-wei 曇微. There is probably some chronological mistake here. According to the *KSC*, T'an-hui lived from 323-395; when he became a novice (according to these data in 333), Tao-an was only 21 years old and had not yet become a disciple of Fo-t'u-teng.

³³ *ib.* V 356.2.17.

³⁴ *ib.* VI 363.2.3.

³⁵ *ib.* VI 363.2.22.

³⁶ *ib.* 362.2.12.

³⁷ *ib.* VI 361.1.23; T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 359-360.

³⁸ See P. Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 266, note 2.

³⁹ Cf. P. Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1912, p. 392 and *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 266 note 1.

⁴⁰ For the theory of the survival of the soul after death see Tsuda Sayūkichirō 津田左右吉, "Shin-metsu fu-metsu no ronsō ni tsuite" 神滅不滅の論争に就いて, *Tōyōgaku* XXIX (1942).1 p. 1-52, 2 p. 33-80; Itano Chōhachi 板野長八, "Eon no shin-fu-metsu-ron" 慧遠の神不滅論 in *Tōhōgaku* XIV. 3, Tōkyō 1943, p. 1-40; Chu Po-k'un 朱伯崑, "Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao shih-ch'i wu-shen-lun-che fan-tuei fo-chiao-chung ling-hun pu-ssu hsin-yang-ti tou-cheng" 晋南北朝时期无神论者反对佛教中灵魂不死信仰的斗争 *Pei-chingta-hs üeh hsüeh-pao* (Jen-wen k'o-hsüeh) 2, 1957, p. 29-60; W. Liebenthal, "Shih Hui-yüan's Buddhism as Set Forth in his Writings", *JAOS* LXX (1950) p. 243-259, the well-documented study by the same author "The Immortality of the Soul in Chinese Thought", *Mon. Nipp.* VIII (1952) p. 326-397 (list of Chinese sources on this subject *ib.* p. 338-340), and Tsukamoto Zenryū's remarks in his notes to "Wei Shou's Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism" (trsl. Leon Hurvitz), in *Yūnkang*, vol. XVI, suppl. p. 33 sqq. We shall revert to the problem of *shen* 神 and its role in *hsüan-hsüeh* and early Chinese Buddhism later on.

⁴¹ T 1856; eighteen letters of Hui-yüan with Kumārajīva's answers, written between 405 and 409, collected and edited at some date between 470 and 600 under the title *Ta-sheng ta i-chang* 大英大義章, var. *Chiu-mo-lo-shih fa-shih ta-i* 鳩摩羅什法師大義 in 3 ch. Cf. below, p. 226 sqq.

⁴² T 1856 ch. I (second letter) p. 123.3.1.

⁴³ *KSC* VI 358.1.11; ca 357 AD.

⁴⁴ *ib.* IV 347.1.18, cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History* p. 234-238.

⁴⁵ *ib.* V 355.1.25.

⁴⁶ *Mou-tzu* section XXVI, *HMC* I 5.3.4; trsl. Pelliot *TP* XIX (1920) p. 316.

⁴⁷ Cf. P. Pelliot in *TP* XIX (1920) p. 269-271.

⁴⁸ In 牟子理惑論辨偽 (in his 佛學研究十八篇, part II) p. 11-12.

⁴⁹ In his *Shina ni okeru Bukkyō to Jūkyō Dōkyō* 支那に於ける佛敎と儒敎遺產 p. 89-100.

ERRATUM

On p. 8, first line, read *eleven* instead of *twelve*; on the same page the figures (10), (11) and (12) should be changed into (9), (10) and (11).

⁵⁰ *Ssu-pu cheng-wei* ch. III, ed. by Ku Chieh-kang in 古籍考辨叢刊, p. 46.

⁵¹ In ch. IV of his *Chou-kao shu-lin* 籍書述林.

⁵² In his 牟子理惑論檢討, in *YCHP* XX, 1936, p. 1-23.

⁵³ In his 與周叔迦論牟子書, in *Lun-hsüeh chin-chu* vol. I, p. 151-154.

⁵⁴ In his 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史 (hereafter referred to as *History*), p. 76-77.

⁵⁵ In "Le songe et l'ambassade de l'empereur Ming; étude critique des sources", *BEFEO* X, 1901, p. 95-130.

⁵⁶ "Meou-tseu ou les doutes levés", *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 255-286, and "Note additionnelle", *ib.* p. 429-433 (containing a refutation of Tokiwa Daijō's opinion mentioned above).

⁵⁷ In his *Dōkyō no kisokuteki kenkyū* 道教の基礎的研究 (Tōkyō 1952), p. 332-436.

⁵⁸ This may refer to his stay on Mt. Lu in 402 AD, when he took part in the collective "vow" before Amitābha, cf. *KSC* VI 358.3.19 and below, p. 218.

⁵⁹ In *Mon. Nipp.* VIII, 1952, p. 378-394.

⁶⁰ The text of the *Pai-hei lun* is not included in *HMC* or *KHMC*, but it is found in *Sung-shu* 97.6b sqq.; translated by W. Liebenthal in *Mon. Nipp.* VIII, 1952, p. 365-373.

⁶¹ In *JAOS* LXX, 1951, p. 243-359; revised version in *Mon. Nipp.* VIII, 1952, p. 354-365.

⁶² In *Mon. Nipp.* VIII, 1952, p. 343, note 4 to his translation of this text.

⁶³ *CS* 82.6b.

⁶⁴ According to *CS* 82.7b, his youngest son Fang 方 was seven or eight years old when Yü Liang was military governor of Ching-chou, *i.e.*, 334-338 AD; consequently Fang had been born before 332.

⁶⁵ *CS* 82.7a.

⁶⁶ Cf. *CS* 92.19a.

⁶⁷ *CS* 10.6a.

⁶⁸ *CS* 85.7a-b.

⁶⁹ As is done by T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 352. There is another important source, frequently mentioned in our notes but not included in the list in this chapter because of its northern origin: the series of five (or four) treatises by Seng-chao 僧肇 composed at Ch'angan between 404 and 414, *viz.*:

Wu pu-ch'ien lun 物不遷論 ("On the immutability of things", ca. 410), *Pu-ch'en k'ung lun* 不真空論 ("On the emptiness of the unreal", ca. 410); *Po-jo wu chih lun* 般若無知論 ("On *prajñā* not having (conscious) knowledge", ca. 405), "Answer to Liu I-min" 答劉道民 (preceded by the text of the letter in question, written 408 AD by Liu Ch'eng-chih 劉程之, one of Hui-yüan's lay disciples on Lu-shan), *Nieh-p'an wu ming lun* 涅槃無名論 ("On the namelessness of *Nirvāna*"; of doubtful authenticity, but in any case first half 5th cent.; cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 670 and Shih Chün 石峻, "Tu Hui-ta Chao-lun-shu shu so chien" 讀慧遠肇論疏述所見, *Pei-p'ing t'u-shu-kuan t'u-shu chi-k'an*, new series V. 1, 1944, who both deny its authenticity; W. Liebenthal, *The Book of Chao* p. 167-168 who regards it as an original work with later interpolations; survey of various opinions and arguments in favour of its authenticity by Ōchō Enichi 横超慧日 in *Jōron Kenkyū* 肇論研究, Kyōto 1955, p. 190 sqq.). All authorities reject the introductory chapter entitled *Tsung-pen-i* 宗本義 as spurious. The treatises were put together some time during the first half of the 6th century under the name of *Chao-lun* 肇論 (T 1858). Excellent Japanese translation by Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆 (who dates the author 374-414) and his collaborators in *Jōron Kenkyū* p. 1-109; a very free and sometimes misleading translation has been given by W. Liebenthal in *The Book of Chao* (*Mon. Ser. Monograph* XIII, Peking 1948).

¹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in *Fo-hsüeh yen-chiu shih-pa p'ien* 佛學研究十八篇 ch. 2 (佛教之初輸入) p. 1-2; cf. also Hatani Ryōtei 羽漢了諦, *Saiiki no bukkyō* 西域之佛教 (Chinese translation by Ho Ch'ang-ch'ün 賀昌羣: *Hsi-yü chih fo-chiao*, 2nd ed., Shanghai 1933), p. 32, and Ono Gemyō, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* vol. XII p. 18. These scholars seem to have been influenced by Terrien de Lacouperie whom they repeatedly quote. The story of Shih-li-fang figures as authentic history in Terrien de Lacouperie's *Western Origin of Early Chinese Civilisation* (London 1894), p. 208b (§ 231), but it had already been dismissed as a legend by S. Beal in 1882 (*Buddhist literature in China*, p. 1-2).

² *Li-tai SPC* I, T 2034 23.3; Fa-lin 法琳, *P'o hsieh lun* 破邪論 in *KHMC* XI 166.1.4 = *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XII, T 2122 p. 379.1.6. All these sources refer to the catalogues of Tao-an and Chu Shih-hsing 朱士行. There is no trace of Shih-li-fang in Tao-an's work (cf. below, note 65) as far as it has been incorporated in the *CSTCC*. The so-called Han catalogue of Chu Shih-hsing 朱士行漢錄, regularly quoted in *Li-tai SPC*, is a late and highly unreliable product, perhaps made to replace a lost original of the third century. It is never mentioned in catalogues earlier than the *Li-tai SPC*, and since the compiler of the latter work himself declares that he did not see it, it probably never existed as an independent work. Cf. Hayashiya Tomojirō 林屋友次郎, *Kyōroku kenkyū* 經錄研究, Tōkyō 1941 p. 241-281; Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定, (*Gokan yori Sō Sei ni itaru*) *yakkyō sōroku* [後漢より宋齊に至る] 譯經總錄, Tōkyō 1938, p. 77-86. On Shih Li-fang see also T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History* p. 7-8.

³ *Li-tai SPC* XV T 2034 127.2 in the list of "lost catalogues"; cf. *Ta T'ang NTL* X (T 2149) 336.2.12; *K'ai-yüan SCL* X (T 2154) 572.3.5; *Chen-yüan SCML* (T 2156) 897.1.5; Bagchi, *Canon*, introd. xxxii-xxxiii; Hayashiya, *op.cit.*, p. 222 sqq. The work in question is never quoted or referred to, and has probably never existed even as a forgery.

⁴ See *HS* 6.15a, H.H. Dubs, *HFHD* II. 63.

⁵ Ed. *Erh-yu t'ang ts'ung-shu* 二酉堂叢書 p. 5b (fragments collected by Chang Shu 張舒, 1821).

⁶ O. Franke, "Zur Frage der Einführung des Buddhismus in China", *MSOS* XIII, 1910, p. 295-305.

⁷ In *BEFEO* X, 1910, p. 629-636, esp. p. 631 sqq.

⁸ Quoted in *Ch'u-hsüeh chi* 初學記 VII. 12a.

⁹ *KSC* I 325.1.19.

¹⁰ *Ming fo lun* 明佛論, *HMC* II 12.3.8.

¹¹ *Wei-shu* 114.1a; J. R. Ware, "Wei Shou on Buddhism", *TP* 30, 1933, p. 110, trsl. Hurvitz p. 28: 及聞西域遣張騫使大夏還傳其書有身毒國一名天竺始聞浮屠之教. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History* p. 9-10; Ono Gemyō, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. XII, p. 18-19.

¹² *KHMC* II 101.1.19: 及聞西域遣張騫使大夏還云身毒天竺國有浮屠之教

¹³ *SC* 110.18a; *HS* 94A.19b-20a and 55.7b; for *r'u* 屠 Yen Shih-ku (581-645) gives the aberrant pronunciation *ch'u* (傳: *āiwo* with a palatal initial instead of 屠: *d'uo*). Hsiu-ch'u (either the name of a Hsiung-nu tribe or of a locality) is identified with Liang-chou 涼州, the present-day Wu-wei 武威 in Kansu, by Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.*, I, p. lxviii. See further Hatani Ryōtei 羽漢了諦, "Kyūto-ō no kinjin ni tsuite" 休屠王の金人について, *Shirin* III, 1918, fasc. 4, p. 31-46, and Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, "On the territory of the Hsiung-nu Prince Hsiu-t'u wang and his metal statues for Heaven worship", *Mem. of the Research Dept. of the Tōyō Bunko* no. 5, 1930, p. 1-79; H. H. Dubs, "The 'Golden Man' of Former Han times" in *TP* 33 (1937) p. 1-41, esp. p. 10 sqq.; postscript *ib.* p. 191-192; J. Ware, "Once more

the Golden Man", *TP* 34, 1938, p. 174-178, and Tsukamoto Zenryū's remarks in *Yüankang* vol. XVI, supplement p. 27.

¹⁴ Quoted in Yen Shih-ku's commentary to *HS* 55.7b: 張晏云佛徒稱金人也。

¹⁵ *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* comm. Ib/16b quoting *Han-wu ku-shih* 漢武故事; *Wei-shu* 114.1a, Ware, *op.cit.* p. 107-109, cf. *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XII, T 2122 p. 378.3; condensed version in *KHMC* II 101.1.16.

¹⁶ *SSHY* comm. IB/16a.

¹⁷ In the review mentioned in note 7, p. 635.

¹⁸ *Yen-shih chia-hsün* XVII (section 考證) p. 37 (ed. *Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng*). In any case the passage in question was already used by Buddhists at the beginning of the fifth century for propagandistic purposes, cf. Tsung Ping, *Ming fo lun* in *HMC* II 12.3.8: 劉向列仙叙七十四人在佛經. In *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XII (T 2122) p. 379.1 and C, p. 1028.3 we find a more detailed explanation based upon a passage from the *Wen-shu-shih-li pan-nieh-p'an ching* 文殊師利般涅槃經 according to which the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī 450 years after the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa* preached the doctrine to 500 *tirthikas* (here rendered by 仙人 "Immortals"!) in the Himālayas 雪山. Tao-shih 遁世, the compiler of the *Fa-yüan chu-lin*, then identifies these "Snow mountains" with the Ts'ung-ling 葱嶺 (the Pamir plateau) and concludes that the "immortals" mentioned here were inhabitants of Central Asian countries East of the Ts'ung-ling, whose fame had spread to the East in Former Han times when China had established relations with these countries.

¹⁹ Bagchi, *Canon* p. xxxiii; Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, p. 114; P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLV, 1924, p. 6 note 1; Hayashiya, *op.cit.*, p. 231-232.

²⁰ H. Maspero, "Le songe et l'ambassade de l'empereur Ming, étude critique des sources", *BEFEO* X, 1910, p. 95-130; T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History* ch. 2 (p. 16-30).

²¹ Maspero, *op.cit.*, p. 129-130.

²² *CSTCC* VI 42.3.15 sqq.

²³ The *Han fa-pen nei-chuan* is mentioned for the first time in the description of a debate between Buddhists and Taoists at Loyang, held under imperial auspices in 520 AD (*Hsü KSC* XXIII 624.3.26 = *KHMC* I 100.3.10, cf. also below, p. 273) and seems to be a product of the North. Cf. H. Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, p. 225-227 and *ib.* p. 118-120; P. Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 388-389. The work consisted of five *chüan*; a summary of its contents is given in *Hsü chi ku-chin fo-tao lun-heng* 續集古今佛道論衡 T 2105, p. 397.2-401.3, and in *KHMC* I 98.3.11 sqq.; also quoted in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XVIII 416.3, XL 600.2 and LV 700.2. At the end of his summary the compiler of the *KHMC* remarks that some critics regard the *Han fa-pen nei-chuan* as a recent product without any historical base, and he defends its authenticity by pointing to the *Wu-shu* 吳書 which also contains the story of the Buddho-Taoist contest in 69 AD. Nothing could be less surprising, for the so-called *Wu-shu* (also quoted in T 2105 and in *KHMC* I) is another, still later, Buddhist forgery concocted from passages from *KSC* and *Han-fa-pen nei-chuan* (cf. below, note 150).

²⁴ *KSC* I 324.2.27.

²⁵ *CSTCC* VII 49.1.23 and XIII 97.2.14.

²⁶ *KSC* I 326.3.3.

²⁷ *CSTCC* XIII 98.2.11.

²⁸ *CSTCC* XIII 96.1.20.

²⁹ *ib.* 96.2.1; *KSC* I 325.1.13.

³⁰ Colonies of foreigners, named after their place of origin, existed already on Chinese territory in Former Han times. Thus the chapter on geography of the *Han-shu* mentions a Yüeh-chih tao 月氏道, one of the twenty-one prefectures (*hsien*) of An-ting 安定 commandery, in present-day Kansu (*HS* 28 B.5a), and a Ch'iu-tzu 龜茲 *hsien* in Shang 上 commandery (Shensi) (*ib.* 6a). According to all commentators, these were settlements of Yüeh-chih and Kuchean immigrants (although these Yüeh-chih may have belonged to the "Small Yüeh-chih" of Western Kansu

rather than to the "Great Yüeh-chih" who after their trek around the middle of the second century BC had settled in Bactria). See also P. A. Boodberg, "Two notes on the History of the Chinese Frontier", *HJAS* I (1936), p. 283-307, esp. p. 286-291 for Ch'iu-tzu hsien in Kansu and an "Aqsu" in Shensi, and H. H. Dubs, *A Roman city in Ancient China* (The China Society, London 1957) for a possible "Alexandria" (犂軒) in central Kansu (cf. *Han-shu pu-chu*, large edition, 28 BI.16a). It is no doubt due to the presence of such early Western immigrants that some faint but unmistakable traces of Buddhist influence are to be found in early Han literature and art. Chavannes (*Cinq cents contes et apologues* vol. I, p. xiv-xv) has already called the attention to the occurrence of Buddhist themes in *Huai-nan tzu*; another remarkable example in the field of art is the representation of two six-tusked elephants on a bas-relief from T'eng-hsien 滕縣 (S. Shantung) which probably dates from the middle of the first century (cf. Lao Kan 勞幹, "Six-tusked elephants on a Han bas-relief", *HJAS* XVII, 1954, p. 366-369; picture of the relief *ib.* and in *Corpus des pierres sculptées Han*, Peking 1950, vol. I, pl. 113). Of course the influence may have been very indirect, and the occurrence of such themes does not imply any knowledge about their Buddhist provenance and original significance.

³¹ CSTCC XIII 97.3.8; cf. KSC I 325.1.27.

³² SKC Comm., *Wei-chih* 30.366B quoting the *Hsi-jung chuan* of the *Wei-lüeh*. Cf. S. Lévi in *J.As.* 1897, I, p. 14-20 and 1900, I, p. 447-468; Ed. Chavannes in *TP* VI, 1905, p. 541, 543, 547, notes; O. Franke, "Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvolker und Skythen in Zentral-Asien" in *Abh. der königl. preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, Berlin 1904, p. 91 sqq.; Pelliot in *BEFEO* VI, 1906, p. 361-400; Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, p. 98, note 2; Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 390, note 298; T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History* p. 49-51; L. de la Vallée-Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares, Grecs, Scythes, Parthes et Yue-tchi*, Paris 1930, p. 346-347.

³³ Ed. Chavannes "Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Wei-liu", *TP* VI (1905), p. 519-576, esp. p. 380 sqq. Emendation proposed by Pelliot in *BEFEO* VI, 1906, p. 376: 博士太子景憲使大月氏王令太子搜浮圖經

³⁴ T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History* p. 51.

³⁵ *HHS* 77.11b sqq. Translation of Pan Yung's biography by Chavannes in *TP* VII, 1906, p. 245-255; cf. also Chavannes in *TP* VIII, 1907, p. 218.

³⁶ *HHS* 77 (biogr. of Pan Ch'ao), p. 9b.

³⁷ *Tung-kuan Han-chi* 東觀漢記 quoted in comm. to *HHS* 77.9b.

³⁸ *HHS* 118.18a: 班勇雖列其求浮圖不殺代而精文書法導道之功靡所傳述; again quoted or paraphrased by Fan Yeh *ib.* p. 10a: 修浮圖道不殺代。

³⁹ The whole section on the Western Region of Fan Yeh's *Hou-Han shu* (ch. 118) was indeed mainly based upon a report written by Pan Yung in 125 AD, cf. *ib.* p. 4b; Chavannes in *TP* VIII 1907, p. 145.

⁴⁰ About routes in Han times see Sun Yü-t'ang 孫毓棠, "Han-tai ti chiao-t'ung" 漢代的交通 in *Chung-kuo she-hui ching-chi shih chi-k'an* 中國社會經濟史集刊 VII.1, 1944; Lao Kan 勞幹, "Lun Han-tai chih lu-yün yü shui-yün" 論漢代之陸運與水運 in *CYYY* XV, 1947, p. 69-91; Utsunomiya Kiyoyoshi 宇野富清吉, *Kandai shakai-keizai-shi kenkyū* 漢代社會經濟史研究, Tōkyō 1955, esp. ch. III (西漢時代の都市).

⁴¹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, *op.cit.*, p. 7-10.

⁴² As Maspero has pointed out (*J.As.* 1934, p. 90 note 1), it is better to take the term Huang-lao 黃老, when it occurs in Han texts, as referring to Huang-lao (chün) 黃老君, the main deity of the early Taoist pantheon who was especially venerated by the Yellow Turbans, and not as denoting two persons, the Yellow Emperor and Lao-tzu, which seems to be a later scholarly interpretation of the term.

⁴³ *HHS* 72.4b.

⁴⁴ T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 54.

⁴⁵ *ib.* p. 55 and p. 100-101.

⁴⁶ KSC IX 385.3.4. = CS 95.12b (memorial of Wang Tu 王廙 and Wang Po 王褒 to the Hun ruler Shih Hu, ca. 335 AD). When Buddhism was persecuted by Sun Lin 孫綝 around the middle of the third century (cf. p. 52) this happened in the course of a campaign against "heterodox cults" in general. In the same way we find how in the edict of 446 ordering the extermination of Buddhism under the Wei the Buddhist cult is qualified as "worshipping the malign demon of the barbarians" 事胡妖鬼 (*Wei-shu* 114.6a; J. Ware, "Wei Shou on Buddhism" in *TP* XXX, 1933, p. 140; trsl. Leon Hurvitz p. 66-67).

⁴⁷ *HHS* 72.5a; *Hou-Han chi* 10.4b; *Tung-kuan Han-chi* 7.6a; *TCTC* 45.526B (reading 仁慈 instead of 仁祠). Chavannes in *TP* VI 1905, p. 450 sqq.; Pelliot in *BEFEO* VI, 1906, p. 388, note 2; Maspero, "Les origines de la communauté bouddhiste de Loyang", *J.As.* 1934, p. 87-107, esp. p. 88-89; T'ang Yung-t'ung, *op.cit.*, p. 53-55; Fukui Kōjun 福井康順, *Dōkyō no kisokuteki kenkyū* 道教的基礎的研究, p. 99-106; Maspero, *Essay sur le Taoïsme*, ch. III, "Le Taoïsme et les débuts du Bouddhisme en Chine", in *Mélanges posthumes* vol. II, 1950, p. 185 sqq.

⁴⁸ *SKC*, *Wu-chih* 4.515b; *HHS* 103.11a; Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, p. 103-105.

⁴⁹ 浮屠祠; here *ssu* 祠 clearly means "temple". Cf. p. 39 below.

⁵⁰ *Wu-chih* 垂銅槃九重, 下為重覆胡道; the more polished *HHS* version reads 上累金盤, 下為重覆. Ōtani Seishin 大谷清生 (in "Shina ni okeru butsuji-zōritsu no kigen ni tsuite" 支那に於ける佛寺建立の起源に於て *yōgaku* XI, 1921, p. 69-101, esp. p. 90) proposes to read 金 instead of 垂, but this emendation would make the syntactical structure of the phrase rather unclear; 垂 seems to occupy the verbal position. The *p'an*, 槃, 盤 (often called "dew-receivers", 承露盤) are the flanges fixed to a central vertical shaft on the top of a *stūpa*, the Indian prototype of which we find e.g., in the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgayā. Here the discs are apparently thought as "hanging" (垂) on the central staff.

⁵¹ 意謀陳休短. This and the following phrases down to "Whenever there was . . ." are lacking in *HHS*.

⁵² 五千餘人戶; 人戶 must be a mistake for 人口 (Fukui, *op.cit.*, p. 93).

⁵³ This is the first mention made in Chinese sources of the annual festival of "bathing the Buddha" (浴佛, 灌佛會) held on the traditional date of the Buddha's birthday, i.e. on the eighth day of the fourth month of the lunar calendar. On this occasion a statue of the Buddha—preferably one showing Siddhārtha as a babe taking his first steps and uttering the famous stanzas of his first "lion's roar"—is washed with water perfumed with the "five kinds of incense" (五香水) under the singing of hymns. The ceremony is held in commemoration of the washing of the Buddha by gods and *nāgas* immediately after his birth (cf. e.g. the late second or early third century *Hsiu-hsing pen-ch'i ching* ch. I, Kyōto ed. XIV. 3 p. 226 B 1). The liturgy is described in several canonical works which still figure in the Chinese *tripitaka*: T 695 *Kuan-hsi fo-hsing-hsiang ching* 灌洗佛形像經 (1 ch., ascribed to Fa-chü 法炬, ca. 300 AD), T 696 *Mo-ho-ch'a-t'ou ching* 摩訶剎頭經 (1 ch., trsl. by Sheng-chien 聖堅 var. Fa-chien 法堅, ca. 400 AD), and especially the two versions of the *Yü hsiang* (or *fo*) *kung-te ching*, 浴佛 (or 佛) 功德經 T 697 and 698, translated in the early eighth century by Ratnacinta (寶思經) and by I-ching respectively. It is puzzling that our text seems to imply that this (annual) ceremony was held more than one time by Chai Jung (每浴佛輒多設飲飯; "whenever there was . . ., always . . ."), whereas according to his biography he cannot have been living in that region longer than one year. This may simply be due to the historian's lack of accuracy, or to his desire to stress Chai Jung's prodigality. On the other hand, it may be that at the end of the second century the ceremony of "bathing the Buddha" had not yet become an annual religious festival only to be held on the eighth day of the fourth month. In T 698 it is described as a part of the daily cult, and this agrees with the Indian custom of which I-ching gives a detailed account in the fourth chapter of his *Nan-hai chi-kuei chuan* 南海寄歸傳 IV, T 2125 p. 123.3.1; trsl. Takakusu p. 147.

⁵⁴ For the Chinese sources see note 48; the earliest source (mentioned by Li Hsien 李賢 (651-684) in his *HHS* commentary *loc.cit.*) is the *Hsien-ti ch'un-ch'iu* 魏晉春秋, compiled by Yüan Yeh 袁宏 in the early third century. Cf. Pelliot in *BEFEO* VI, 1906, p. 394-395; Ôtani Seishin on p. 85-91 of the article mentioned in note 50; T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History* p. 71-73; Fukui Kôjun, *op.cit.* p. 93-99; Maspero in *J.As.* 1934, p. 92.

⁵⁵ Maspero, *loc. cit.*; Fukui *ib.* p. 95-96.

⁵⁶ *Cheng wu lun* 正誼論 (first half fourth century), *HMC* I 8.3.13. The Buddhist author of the *Cheng wu lun* hastens to declare that Chai Jung violated the four most basic Buddhist commandments (not killing, not lying, not stealing and not drinking wine) and therefore was a wretched sinner. A Buddhist treatise by Hui-jui 慧叡 which probably was written about 428 AD, the *Yü i lun* 喻疑論 (trsl. by W. Liebenthal: "A Clarification (Yü-i Lun)", *Sino-Indian Studies* V. 2, 1956, p. 88-99) seems to allude to Chai Jung's Buddhism where it says (*CSTCC* V 41.2.10): "At the end of the Han and the beginning of the Wei, the chancellor of Kuang-ling and the chancellor of P'eng-ch'eng joined the Order, and were both able to maintain the great light (of the Doctrine)" 漢末魏初, 廣陵彭城二相出家, 並能任持大照. "The chancellor of Kuang-ling" must refer to Chai Jung, although, strictly speaking, at that moment this function was filled by another magistrate, Chao Yü 趙昱 (cf. Fukui, *op. cit.*, p. 98-99, who thinks that this person is actually meant here). The chancellor of P'eng-ch'eng in 194 AD was Hsieh Li 薛稷 who indeed appears to have entertained relations with Chai Jung; about his alleged Buddhist sympathies nothing whatsoever is known (cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History* p. 73).

⁵⁷ H. Maspero, "Les origines de la communauté bouddhiste de Loyang", *J.As.* 1934, p. 87-107; cf. *Mélanges posthumes* vol. II p. 188-189. Maspero's theory is based on the single fact that in a colophon of 208 AD (*CSTCC* VII 48.3.9: 殷丹三昧經記, for the date see Maspero, *ib.* p. 95 note 2) we find the name of a Hsü-ch'ang monastery 許昌寺 at Loyang, the name of which is identical with that of the grandson of a maternal uncle of Liu Ying, viz. the marquis Hsü Ch'ang 許昌, who in 58 AD became head of the Hsü family. According to Maspero, the Hsü-ch'ang ssu originally was Hsü Ch'ang's mansion at the capital, which after Liu Ying's fall and the abolition of the kingdom of Ch'u he had given to the former clients of his uncle, some *śramaṇas* from P'eng-ch'eng who together with him had moved to Loyang, and to which in commemoration of this gesture had been given the name of its donor. Maspero's construction is ingenuous and convincing: we may safely assume that the identity of the name of the Buddhist monastery with that of the nephew of the first known Chinese Buddhist devotee is not a matter of coincidence. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *op.cit.* p. 68, who seems to be unacquainted with Maspero's article, still envisages the possibility that Hsü-ch'ang here refers to the city of that name in central Honan, but all early sources agree in saying that the name of this place was changed from Hsü(-hsien) 許(縣) into Hsü-ch'ang only in 221 AD, and there is no reason to assume that the colophon in question was antedated. But Maspero goes certainly too far when he derives the rise of Buddhism at Loyang *in toto* from the establishment of a single and no doubt very insignificant monastery or chapel (the name of which is never mentioned elsewhere) by a nobleman and some monks from the East of China, thus neglecting the two most important factors: the geographical situation and the existence of foreigners at the capital. Maspero is certainly wrong when he uses the close resemblance between the "Bouddhisme taoisant" of P'eng-ch'eng and that of the later Church of Loyang as an additional proof for his theory ("... ie ne peux croire que ce soit par hasard que cette confusion bizarre se montre à un siècle de distance dans deux endroits, ... un mélange aussi étrange, et reposant sur une série d'erreurs et d'incompréhensions monstrueuses", *ib.* p. 106). It would indeed be very surprising if this "Bouddhisme taoisant" would show marked regional differences. The formation of early Chinese Buddhism was an almost nation-wide

process, the ideas and beliefs of the cultured part of the population were rather homogeneous, and everywhere, at P'eng-ch'eng, at Loyang, (but, as we shall see, also at Tunhuang and in the extreme South of the empire) the same ingredients combined to form the same characteristic mixture.

⁵⁸ 展季, also called Chan Huo 展獲, and commonly known as Liu-hsia Hui 柳下惠, a "magistrate" from the state of Lu 魯, seventh and sixth century BC, famous for his high moral standards and virtuous conduct; cf. *Lun-yü* XV. 13 and XVIII. 2 and 8; *Mencius* II. B 9.2.

⁵⁹ *Wen-hsüan* II (ed. Wan-yu wen-k'u p. 45): 展季桑門誰能不受; trsl. E. von Zach, *Übersetzungen aus dem Wen-hsüan*, Batavia 1935, p. 5: "Selbst Chan Huo oder ein Asket (śramana) müssen von ihnen bezaubert werden".

⁶⁰ *HHS* 89.1a.

⁶¹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 5-7; Tokiwa Daijō 串盤大定 in "Kan-meī kyūhō-setsu no kenkyū" 漢明永法説の研究, *Tōyōgaku* X, 1920, p. 25-41 and in *Yakkyō sōroku*, p. 481-485; Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨 in *Bukkyō daijiten* p. 1811.1; Sakaino in *Shina bukkyō seishi* p. 57.

⁶² The resemblance between the "Sūtra in Forty-two Sections" and the *Hsiao-ching* was noticed already by the anonymous author of the *Li-tai SPC* (T 2034 ch. IV p. 49.3); Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (*loc.cit.*) draws a parallel between it and the *Tao te ching*. We could also think of the *Lun-yü* to which this "sūtra" with its short independent paragraphs (mostly introduced by "The Buddha said...") shows a certain similarity from a stylistic point of view. The work has none of the characteristics of a sūtra, but, as Tang Yung-t'ung has pointed out (*op.cit.* p. 31), the earliest sources (the "Preface" in *CSTCC* VI 42.3.22, third century?, and the Chiu-lu 舊錄 quoted *ib.* II 5.3.17, probably the catalogue of Chih Min-tu 支慇度, mid. fourth century) merely refer to it as "the forty-two sections of (= extracted from?) Buddhist sūtras" 佛經四十二章 and as "the forty-two sections of emperor Hsiao-ming" 孝明皇帝四十二章.

⁶³ T 784; trsl. by L. Feer. *Le Sūtra en Quarante-deux articles, Textes Chinois, Tibétain et Mongol*, 1878; S. Beal, *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, London 1871, p. 188-203; de Harlez, *Les quarante-deux leçons de Bouddha, ou le King des XLII sections*, Brussels 1899. Translation with critical notes by H. Hackmann, "Die Tekstgestalt des Sūtra der 42 Abschnitte", *Acta Orientalia* V, 1927, p. 197-237. Translation of the "Preface" from *CSTCC* VI by Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, p. 99-100. Cf. furthermore Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 258 sqq. and p. 293 note 302; T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History* ch. III (p. 31-46); T'ang Yung-t'ung, "The Editions of the Ssu-shih-erh-chang-ching", *HJAS* I, 1936, p. 147-155.

⁶⁴ See T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History* p. 38-39.

⁶⁵ The most extensive study on Tao-an's catalogue is *Kyōroku-kenkyū* 經錄研究 by Hayashiya Tomojirō 林屋友次郎 (Tōkyō 1941, 1343 pp.) in which the author traces the earliest development of Buddhist bibliography in China, giving a reconstruction of Tao-an's catalogue and discussing the form and contents of this work in great detail. Tao-an completed his *Tsung-li chung-ching mu-lu* in 374 (cf. Pelliot in *TP* XII, 1911, p. 675), but there are several indications which show that he added some information after that date (Hayashiya, p. 351-362). There probably were two versions of the catalogue, the final version in one chapter and a kind of preliminary copy in two *chüan*, generally referred to as (*An-kung*) *chiu-lu* 安國道錄; both versions were still in existence at the beginning of the sixth century (*ib.*, p. 363-381). However, Tokiwa Daijō (*Yakkyō sōroku* p. 90) regards this "old catalogue of Tao-an" as another name for the same work. The *Tsung-li chung-ching mu-lu* comprised about six hundred titles, beginning with the translations ascribed to Lokakṣema and An Shih-kao, and ending with the translators of the late third century. No titles of scriptures translated after ca. 300 are listed. Tao-an does not appear to have made a distinction between "archaic" and more "modern" translations; the first

known attempt to make such a classification was made by Seng-yu (*CSTCC* I 4.3-5.2).

⁶⁶ Cf. Hayashiya, *op.cit.*, part II (p. 213-330).

⁶⁷ The following are the earliest documents containing information about translators and translations of Later Han times:

(1) *CSTCC* X 69.3.19 沙彌十慧章句序 by 嚴浮 (*var.* 侏) 調, second half second century; the earliest known mention of An Shih-kao and his activities as a preacher and as a translator at Loyang.

(2) *ib.* VII 47.3.4 道行經後記 (anon.); colophon dated November 24, 179 AD, copied in "second year *cheng-kuang*" 正光二年, probably a mistake for 正元二年 = 255 AD, cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung p. 67. Describes the circumstances of the translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* by Chu Shuo-fo and Lokakṣema and their Chinese assistants; contains the names of Chinese donors.

(3) *ib.* VII 48.3.9 般舟三昧經序, colophon of 208 AD (cf. Maspero in *J.As.* 1934, p. 95 note 2) reproducing the original colophon which describes the translation of this scripture by Lokakṣema and Chu Shuo-fo, also dated November 24, 179 AD (光和二 年 十 月 八 日, cf. no. 2), which is somewhat puzzling. It may be that the translation of both sūtras was carried on during the same period, so that the completion of both texts was celebrated on the same day. In both colophons we find indeed the names of the same assistants (孟福 元士 and 張運 少安).

(4) *ib.* VII 50.1.6 法句經序 (first half third century, cf. below, p. 47 sqq.), probably written by Chih Ch'ien 支謙. Mentions two Han translators unknown elsewhere (藍調 and 蕭氏), furthermore An Shih-kao, An Hsüan and Yen Fou-t'iao (here written 井調).

(5) *ib.* VI 42.3.29 安般守意經序 by K'ang Seng-hui 康僧會 (mid. third century), esp. p. 43.2.17 sqq.: eulogy on An Shih-kao.

(6) *ib.* VI 46.2.20 法鏡經序 by K'ang Seng-hui, esp. p. 46.3.3 sqq.: a description of the activities of An Hsüan and Yen Fou-t'iao.

(7) T 1694 陰持入經注, preface (p. 9) to this commentary by a certain . . . Mi 粟 (cf. below, p. 54), second half third century: eulogy on An Shih-kao.

(8) *CSTCC* VII 49.1.17 合百楞嚴經記 by Chih Min-tu 支愍度 (ca. 300 AD): an account of the translation of this sūtra by Lokakṣema and its transmission by Chih Liang.

⁶⁸ T 602, *An-pan shou-i ching* 安般守意經.

⁶⁹ A very early exegetical work of this type, ascribed to An Shih-kao or An Hsüan, has been preserved: T 1508, *A-han k'ou-chieh* (*shih-erh yin-yüan ching*) 阿含口解 [十二因緣經]. For this little work and its curious doctrine of the twelve "inner" and the twelve "outer" *nidānas* see *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. I p. 4 (article by Akanuma Chizen). For the recital and oral explanation of scriptures and the earliest Buddhist commentaries based upon such explanations see T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History* p. 114-119.

⁷⁰ The donors Sun Ho 孫和 and Chou T'i-li 周提立 are mentioned in the anonymous 道行經後記, *CSTCC* VII 47.3.7.

⁷¹ Colophons in *CSTCC* VII 51.2.12 (May 14, 289 AD) and *ib.* 50.2.8 (December 30 of the same year). But already in 266 there was another Pai-ma ssu, at Ch'angan (colophon in *CSTCC* VII 48.2.23: 於長安晉門內白馬寺中----), and it seems that around the same date still another monastery of that name had been founded at Ching-ch'eng 荊城 (S.W. of Chung-hsiang 鍾祥 in central Hupei) by a third century An Shih-kao (*KSC* I 324.1.18 quoting the fourth century *Ching-chou chi* 荊州記 by Yü Chung-yung 庾仲雍) whose biography seems to have become mixed up with that of his illustrious namesake of the second century (cf. Ōtani Seishin, p. 78-80 of the article mentioned in note 50). In view of the localisation of the "ancient" Pai-ma ssu (outside the Yung gate 雍門, West of the city wall) it may be important to note that under the Wei (probably in 255 AD, cf. above, note 67 *sub* 2) we hear of a "P'u-sa ssu" 普羅寺 at Loyang, West of the city wall (*CSTCC* VII 47.3.7).

⁷² *CSTCC* VII 48.3.14.

⁷³ Cf. Pelliot in *TP XIX*, 1920, p. 344-346 (n. 64).

⁷⁴ Bagchi, *Canon* p. 8 note 1.

⁷⁵ *CSTCC VI* 43.2.17 (K'ang Seng-hui's 空般守意經序): 有菩薩者安清字世高

⁷⁶ *CSTCC X* 69.3.25 (Yen Fou-t'iao's 沙彌十慧章句序): 有菩薩者出自安息字世高... So also in *T 1694.2* and *CSTCC VII* 50.1:6.

⁷⁷ *T 1694*, *ib.*: 安侯世高者普見菩薩也, 捐王位之裝, 安貧樂道. So also K'ang Seng-hui in *CSTCC VI* 43.1.1: 安息王嫡后之子, 讓國與叔, 馳避本土.

⁷⁸ This could be inferred from K'ang Seng-hui's words (*ib.*): 馳避本土.

⁷⁹ *CSTCC XIII* 95.1.28 sqq., *KSC I* 323.2.13 sqq.; Ōtani Seishin, *op.cit.*, p. 78 sqq.; Bagchi, *Canon* p. 9-10, note 1. Cf also below, p. 208.

⁸⁰ An attempt is made by Léon Wiegner in *Histoire des croyances religieuses* . . . , 1922, p. 351.

⁸¹ Maspero in "Essay sur le Taoisme", *Mél. posth.*, vol. II, p. 189.

⁸² *T 13*, 14, 31, 36, 48, 57, 98, 105, 109, 112, 150a, 150b, 397, 602, 603, 605, 607, 792, 1557. One of the scriptures which Tao-an hesitatingly ascribes to An Shih-kao has also been preserved (*T 32*). It must be remarked that according to *K'ai-yüan SCL XIII* 616.2.26 the two versions of the *An-pan shou-i ching* listed by Tao-an and Seng-yu actually belonged to the same text, one consisting of the first chapter of the other one (cf. Ōtani Seishin, "An Seikō no yakkyō ni tsuite" 安世高的譯經に就いて, *Tōyōgaku* XIII, 1924, p. 546-583).

⁸³ *T 14 Jen pen yü sheng ching* 人本欲生經 (*Mahānidānasūtra*); *T 602 Ta an-pan shou-i ching* 大安般守意經 (? *Ānāpānasmṛtisūtra*); *T 603 Yin-ch'ih-ju ching* 陰持入經 (? *Skandha-dhātva-āyatana-sūtra*); *T 607 Tao-ti ching* 道地經 (*Yogācārabhūmi*).

⁸⁴ Cf. P. Demiéville, "La *Yogācārabhūmi* de Saṅgharakṣa", *BEFEO XLIV*, 1954, p. 340.

⁸⁵ First occurrence: *CSTCC VII* 50.1.5 (法句經序, early third century): 安侯世高, 觀劇, 卑調, 譯胡為漢---- and *CSTCC VI* 46.3.3 (K'ang Seng-hui's 法鏡經序, mid. third century): 騎尉安玄---- Biographical note about An Hsüan in *CSTCC XIII* 96.1.8 sqq., *KSC I* 324.2.25 sqq. It is not clear why Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (*op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 9, note 2) questions the historicity of An Hsüan whom he regards as identical with An Shih-kao.

⁸⁶ First mentioned as a translator in *CSTCC VII* 50.1.6 (法句經序, early third cent.); biographical notes in *CSTCC XIII* 96.1.16; *KSC I* 324.3.4; see furthermore Maspero in *BEFEO X*, 1910, p. 228-229; Pelliot in *TP XIX*, 1920, p. 344-345 note 64. The custom of adopting the *ethnikon* of one's master by way of a "religious surname" (see below, p. 189 and p. 281) did not yet exist; even as a monk Yen Fou-t'iao is known under his normal surname. But his *ming* (or *tzu*?) Fou-t'iao = Buddhadeva is obviously a Buddhist appellation, which he may have assumed at his ordination.

⁸⁷ *CSTCC VI* 46.2.19.

⁸⁸ The title of Yen Fou-t'iao's work is not clear. The "ten (kinds or stages of) understanding" (*hui*) probably refer to what in the *An-pan shou-i ching* is called the ten *hsia* 十慧, viz., the six acts which constitute the *ānāpānasmṛti* (數息 *ganānā*, 相隨 *anugama*, 止 *sthāna*, 觀 *upalakṣaṇā*, 還 *vivartanā*, 淨 *pariśuddhi*), and the Four Truths the realisation of which results from these practices. The word *hsia* which occurs in archaic Buddhist terminology is indeed given in the early first century dialect-vocabulary *Fang-yen I.1a* as an equivalent of *hui* (慧: *g'at > yat; 慧: *g'iwəd > yiwei), current in the region "East of the Passes" and in Chao 趙 and Wei 魏, i.e., in Shansi and Northern Honan. But the *sha-mi* 沙彌 (*sa.mjār > ṣa.mjie = *śrāmaṇera*, probably via Kuchean *samāne* or *sanmir*, or via Khotanese *ssamanā*) in the title is puzzling, and I wonder whether this "commented exposition of the novice's ten (points of) understanding" (about which the author's preface says nothing specific) was not simply an enumeration of the "Ten Rules for the Novice" (沙彌十戒) with explanatory notes.

⁸⁸ Cf. *CSTCC* VI 46.3.3 (K'ang Seng-hui's 法鏡經序): 年在魏配弘志聖集, but this refers to both An Hsüan and Yen Fou-t'iao.

⁹⁰ *Nan-chi* 雜錄; first occurrence as applied to An Shih-kao, An Hsüan and Yen Fou-t'iao in *CSTCC* VII 50.1.6 (法句經序, early third century). Cf. *CSTCC* VIII 52.3.12 (Tao-an's 摩訶修羅石說羅室經抄序) where Lokakṣema and An Shih-kao are qualified as *nan-chi* 雜纂 (*sic!*).

⁹¹ T'ang Yung-t'ung (*History* p. 69-70) quotes the lateral text (側文) of the San-kung stela 三公碑 of 181 AD as follows: 處士房士孟 □ 卿處士河 □ □ 元士. The colophon to the *Pan-chou san-mei ching* (208 AD, *CSTCC* VII 48.3.12) mentions a 河南洛陽孟福字元士 who also figures in the contemporary colophon to the *Tao-hsing ching* (*ib.* 47.3.5), and T'ang Yung-t'ung consequently proposes to restore the second phrase quoted above to 處士河南孟元士. Most collections of ancient inscriptions contain the main text of the San-kung stela, but a reproduction or transcription of the lateral text is seldom given. According to the *Shih-k'o t'i-pa so-yin* 石刻題跋索引 compiled by Yang Tien-hsün 楊殿海 (Shanghai 1941), p. 584, the lateral text is to be found in the first chapter of the *Ch'ang-shan chen shih chih* 常山貞石志 by Shen T'ao 沈濤 (1842), which I have not been able to consult; it is, however, reproduced together with some of the comments of the *Ch'ang-shan* in the *Pa-ch'iung-shih Chin-shih pu-cheng* 八瓊室金石補正 by Lu Tseng-hsiang 陸增祥, 5.26a and 32b.

The second text quoted by T'ang Yung-t'ung is the reverse (陰文) of the Pai-shih shen-chün stela 白石神君碑 (183 AD) which is reproduced *i.a.*, in the *Liang-Han chin-shih chi* 兩漢金石記 by Weng Fang-kang 翁方綱, ch. 11.16a. Here we find "the libationer Kuo Chih, (*tzu*) Tzu-pi 祭酒郭稚子碧, who in all probability was the same person as the "Tzu-pi from Nan-hai" 南海子碧 mentioned in the colophon on the *Tao-hsing ching* (*CSTCC* VII 47.3.7). On the Taoist title *chi-chiu* ("libationer") cf. below, ch. VI note 34, but the early date of the inscription makes it very improbable that this title here refers to a high dignitary of the Yellow Turban hierarchy. In Han times the honorary title of *chi-chiu* was given to members of the local gentry, mostly "learned" (*i.e.*, cultured) individuals, who were used by the local government for consultation; they held no official post, and the title mainly served "to honour excellent people". See Yen Keng-wang 嚴耕望, *Han-tai ti-fang hsing-cheng chih-tu* 漢代地方行政制度, *CYYY* XXV (1954) p. 135-236, esp. p. 154 and 177.

⁹² *CSTCC* II 6.2.10; anonymous colophon *ib.* VII 47.3.4 sqq. (cf. note 67 *sub* 2); preface by Tao-an to his commentary on the *Tao-hsing ching*, *ib.* VII 47.1.12. According to Tao-an, the translation was based on a manuscript which Chu Shuo-fo had brought to Loyang (*ib.* 47.2.16; 甯詣京師; the use of *chi* 藟 seems to imply that it was a material manuscript and not a memorized text). The title *Tao-hsing*, "the Practice of the Way", is a free translation of the original name of the first chapter (*Sarvākarajñatācaryā*). The earliest catalogues mention another Han time version of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (or of part of it) in one *chüan*, ascribed to Chu Shuo-fo or to Lokakṣema, a fact which among students of Buddhist bibliography has given rise to the wildest speculations (cf. *e.g.*, Sakaino Kōyō 境野美洋, paraphrased by Matsumoto Tokumyo, *Die Prajñāpāramitā-literatur*, 1932, p. 18-19).

⁹³ *CSTCC* II 6.2.12; anonymous colophon *ib.* VII 48.3.9 sqq. (cf. note 67 *sub* 3).

⁹⁴ First mentioned in the preface to a synoptic edition of four versions of this sūtra by Chih Min-tu (cf. note 67 *sub* 8), ca. 300 AD. *CSTCC* II 6.11 and VII 49.1.14 indicate January 16, 186 (漢平二年十二月八日) as the date of completion. The work had already been lost at the beginning of the sixth century.

⁹⁵ The textual history of the first Chinese versions of this scripture is very complicated; the various Japanese scholars who have studied this subject have reached widely divergent conclusions. Hayashiya Tomojirō (*Kyōroku-kenkyū*, p. 544-578) discusses the opinions of former specialists (notably Sakaino Kōyō and Mochizuki Shinkō) and after a careful comparison of the two versions comes to the conclusion

that the version in three *chüan* (T 418) is the original translation by Lokakṣema, the one in one *chüan* (T 417) being an abstract made from the earlier more extensive text. Beside these there is still another short and archaic version of this sūtra (T 419, 拔薩菩薩經) which probably also dates from Han times. The *Pan-chou san-mei ching*, which is mainly devoted to the cult of Amitābha and the means to effect the mental concentration during which the Buddhas are made to appear before one's eyes (現在佛悉在前立三昧 *pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi*), was to play a very important role in the late fourth and early fifth century among the adepts of the *buddhānumṛti* in Hui-yüan's Buddhist community on the Lu-shan; cf. Demiéville, *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, p. 353 note 4, and below, p. 220 sqq.

⁹⁶ *CSTCC* III 18.1.1. Seng-yu (*ib.* II 6.2.13) mentions it as a work of Lokakṣema but adds the remark "now lost". Before Tao-an's time the translation was already ascribed to Lokakṣema by Chih Min-tu (*ib.* 49.1.22). As to the authenticity of the present text (T 624) the opinions vary. Sakaino Kōyō (*Shina-bukkyōshi kōwa* 支那佛教史講話, Tōkyō 1927, vol. I p. 44-45) rejects the attribution to Lokakṣema; Hayashiya (*Kyōroku kenkyū* p. 625-627) argues in favour of it.

⁹⁷ *KSC* 324.3.7.

⁹⁸ Chih Min-tu in *CSTCC* VII 49.1.24; *ib.* XIII 97.2.23 = *KSC* 325.1.19. Cf. Tao-an's praising remark about him reported in *KSC*, *loc.cit.*

⁹⁹ *KSC* I 324.3.10. The Indian original of the *Chung pen-ch'i ching* had been brought from Kapilavastu 迦維羅衛 by T'an-kuo 曇果 (this transcription *Chia-wei-lo-wei*, AC *ka.ɿwi.lā.jɿwäi*, is no doubt based on a Prākṛit form; cf. Pelliot in *J.As.* 1914, p. 383, who suggests **kavilawai*). On the problem of the earliest Chinese Buddha biography cf. Pelliot, *TP* 1920 p. 263-264, but his hypothesis about a very early, now lost life of the Buddha in Chinese is created *pour besoin de la cause, c.q.*, to support the authenticity of the (in our view spurious) *Mou-tzu* as a late second century work. The present *Chung pen-ch'i ching* shows some traces of later redaction in the inserted translations of Indian proper names (e.g., p. 149.1.15 [地]地竺言美音; p. 156.1.9: [須達]竺言善溫; p. 157.1.15 [瞿師羅]竺言美音 (read 美音). These could be merely later additions, but it must be noted that in the last two cases the text itself goes on using the Chinese equivalents 善溫 and 美音 after their first occurrence in the glosses. The *Hsiu-hsing pen-ch'i ching* is not mentioned by Seng-yu either on his own authority or on that of Tao-an, but this is very probably a mistake, since all later catalogues refer to Tao-an's bibliography for this sūtra.

¹⁰⁰ *CSTCC* VI 43.2.27 (K'ang Seng-hui's preface to the *An-pan shou-i ching*).

¹⁰¹ *HHS* 7.13b-14a; *Hou-Han chi* 22.12a; *Tung-kuan Han-chi* 3.8b.

¹⁰² See below, ch. VI, note 31.

¹⁰³ *HHS* 7.15a, in the historiographer's "judgment" (論) on emperor Huan: 設茅蓋以祠浮屠老子, and *ib.* 118.10a (*Hsi-yü chuan*) 復植帝好神數祀浮屠老子.

¹⁰⁴ On this Taoist technical expression which in archaic Buddhist translations is sometimes used to render *samādhi*, cf. Maspero, *Essai sur le Taoïsme, Mél. posth.*, vol. II, p. 141 sqq. and p. 196; T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History* p. 110-111.

¹⁰⁵ *HHS* 60B.18b. Cf. Pelliot in *BEFEO* VI, 1906, p. 387-389; T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History* p. 55-57.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 407, note 366. T'ang Yung-t'ung (*History* p. 57-61 and 104-114, and his "Tu *T'ai-p'ing ching* shu so chien" 讀太平經書所見 in *Kuo-hsüeh chi-k'an* V, 1935), has found in this Taoist scripture a great number of passages which testify of Buddhist influence. However, Taoist scriptures in general form a very unstable and unreliable material for this kind of research. As appears from Fukui Kōjun's very detailed study on the different versions of the *T'ai-p'ing ching* (*Dōkyō no kisokuteki kenkyū*, p. 214-255), the *T'ai-p'ing ching*, like so many Taoist works, was subjected century after century to alteration and interpolation till the eventual fixation of the texts of the various versions by their inclusion in the Taoist canon. We have no guarantee that the passages mentioned by T'ang Yung-t'ung figured in the original text of the second century AD.

¹⁰⁷ *HHS* 35.7b-8a. Much later, in T'ang times, the office partly functioned as a government inquiry office where information of various kinds concerning foreign countries was assembled and maps were made (cf. des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires* p. 110 and 199 note 2). At that time the close relation between the Hung-lu ssu and the Buddhist church is well-attested: until 842 all Buddhist and Taoist monasteries and temples fell under its jurisdiction (*ib.*, p. 348-385, 388, 390). From another source we hear about a Chinese official of this bureau who knew Sanskrit and who in the period 676-678 took part in the translation of Buddhist scriptures (a certain Tu Hsing-i 杜行顯, cf. T 2152 p. 368.3.20 and T 2154 p. 564.1.27).

¹⁰⁸ Maspero in *J.As.* 1934 p. 97-98.

¹⁰⁹ Ōtani Seishin in the article mentioned above (note 50), esp. p. 70-73; cf. also Mochizuki Shinkō in *Bukkyō daijiten*, p. 1711.1.

¹¹⁰ *CSTCC* VII 48.3.9.

¹¹¹ T 32 [佛說]四諦經 p. 814.3.3.

¹¹² *HS* 19A.8a mentions among the officials of the Hung-lu ssu an *i-kuan ling* 譯官令 and an *i-kuan ch'eng* 譯官丞. In this connection it is significant to note that the traditional explanation of the strange name of this office, *hung-lu* 鴻臚, is "transmitting the sounds", *hung* being explained as *sheng* 聲 and *lu* as *ch'uan* 傳 (cf. gloss by Ying Shao 應劭 (mid. second century) in Yen Shih-ku's comm. to *HS loc.cit.*).

¹¹³ *HS* 96A (*Hsi-yü chuan*) p. 4a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b, 16b, 20b; 96B p. 8b, 9a, 9b, 14a, 14b, 15a, 15b, 16a, 16b, 17a. I have been unable to find any information about the official status of such interpreters in Han times. In *HS* 96 they only occur in countries under the jurisdiction of the Chinese governor-general in Central Asia.

¹¹⁴ *KSC* I 325.1.20.

¹¹⁵ *CSTCC* XIII 96.2.4 = *KSC* I 325.1.17.

¹¹⁶ *CSTCC* XIII 96.1.25; *KSC* I 326.2.24. The reading *Lü-yen* is found for the first time in *KSC*. Chiang-yen must be correct; it is confirmed by the contemporary preface to the *Dharmapada* (*CSTCC* VII 50.1.10 and 50.1.25) and by Tao-an's catalogue (reproduced *ib.* II 6.3.12).

¹¹⁷ *KSC* I 326.2.14.

¹¹⁸ Cf. S. Lévi, "L'Apramāda-varga; étude sur les recensions des Dharmapadas", *J.As.* 1912, p. 203-204, esp. p. 207-123.

¹¹⁹ *CSTCC* VII 49.3.20 sqq.; the preface has been translated by S. Lévi, *op.cit.* p. 205-207, and partially by S. Beal in *Dhammapada* (London 1878), p. 29. In T 210 it has for inexplicable reasons been inserted between section 21 and 22 (T 210 p. 566.2), but here the preface shows traces of a fourth or early fifth century redaction, reading 譯梵為秦 (p. 566.3.2) where the *CSTCC* version has 譯胡為漢. About the identity of the "master Ko" mentioned here nothing is known. Another unknown name figures in the following phrase from this preface: "But formerly Lan-t'iao 藍調, An Shih-kao the marquis, the commander (An Hsüan) and (Yen) Fu-t'iao in translating the *Hu* language into Han (= Chinese) all had mastered the (right) method..." 唯昔藍調安侯世高都尉并調譯胡為漢悉得其體--- (*ib.* 50.1.6). T'ang Yung-t'ung (p. 65) regards the words *lan-t'iao* as a corruption of the text, but there is no reason to do so. The two characters are both regularly used in Buddhist transcriptions, and it is quite likely that they stand for the name of an early translator who, like the "master Ko" mentioned above, does not figure in any other source.

¹²⁰ Cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *op.cit.* p. 130-131.

¹²¹ Cf. *Lun-yü* VI.16: 子曰質勝文則野文勝質則史文質彬彬然後君子 For an analogous dictum about the right method of translating Buddhist texts see *CSTCC* VII 49.2.28.

¹²² *Tao te ching* ch. 81: 美言不信信言不美.

¹²³ *I-ching*, *Hsi-tz'u* part I (*chu-shu* ed. 7.30b): 子曰書不盡言言不盡意然則聖人之意其不可見乎

¹²⁴ *CSTCC* VII 50-1-12, trsl. S. Lévi *J.As.* 1912 p. 206-207. S. Lévi translates 佛子依其義不用飾取其法不以嚴 as follows: "Le Bouddha a déclaré que si on s'appuie sur le sens, il n'est pas besoin d'ornements; si on prend sa loi, ce n'est pas pour la parure". I do not know whether such a saying has ever been attributed to the Buddha. The traditional meaning of *fo-yen* as well as the force of *ch'i* 其 make it preferable to translate as I have done: "As to the *buddhavacana* . . .".

¹²⁵ Biography in *CSTCC* XIII 97.2.13, much shorter in *KSC* I 325.1.18 (in the biography of K'ang Seng-hui); earliest biographical information in Chih Min-tu's 命首釋嚴經記 in *CSTCC* VII 49.1.22. The two personal names Ch'ien 謙 and Yüeh 越 form a little problem. Earliest nomenclature: Chih Min-tu in *CSTCC* 49.1.22: 支越字恭明; id. in VIII 58.2.21: 支越字恭明; Tao-an *ib.* VI 45.2.20: 高士河南支恭明; Tao-an *ib.* VIII 52.3.13: 支越; as author's name in the title of a preface *ib.* VII 51.3.17: 支恭明; letter to the monks by Sun Liang (of doubtful authenticity) *CSTCC* XIII 97.3.17: 支恭明. "Chih Ch'ien" figures in Seng-yu's bibliographical chapters (*ib.* II 7.1.25 and V 37.3.3) and in his biography in XIII 97.2.13: 支謙字恭明, 一名越. In accordance with current usage we have here still used the name Chih Ch'ien, although the earliest sources without exception refer to him as Chih Yüeh or Chih Kung-ming.

¹²⁶ *CSTCC* XIII 97.2.22 = *KSC* I 325.1.22.

¹²⁷ Chih Min-tu in *CSTCC* VII 49.1.24; *CSTCC* XIII and *KSC* I *loc.cit.*

¹²⁸ *CSTCC* VI 46.2.8.

¹²⁹ *ib.* XIII 97.3.5. According to a late tradition, the reigning family of Wu was already interested in Buddhism before the capital was moved to Chienyeh: the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* XXXV (compiled 1258-1269; T 2035 p. 331.3.9) reports that in 229 Sun Ch'üan's principal consort *née* P'an 潘夫人 founded the Hui-pao monastery 慧寶寺 at Wu-ch'ang, but our sources for the period are silent on this point.

¹³⁰ *KSC* I 325.1.27.

¹³¹ *San-kuo chih*, *Wu-chih* 14.593A. It is not impossible that he had come into contact with Chih Ch'ien before 242, when he was already active at the capital as a *shang-shu lang* 尚書郎 (*SKC*, *Wu-chih* 20.633b).

¹³² *Wu-chih* 20.633B and 14.595A.

¹³³ *CSTCC* XIII 97.3.17; not in *KSC*.

¹³⁴ *CSTCC* 97.3.14; not in *KSC*. Cf. Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 393, note 302.

¹³⁵ Yü Fa-lan's dates are not known. According to his biography (*KSC* IV 349.3.22 sqq.) he came from Kao-yang 高陽 in Northern Hopei where he soon became famous. Like the Chu Fa-lan mentioned in Chih Ch'ien's biography, he lived in the mountains as a hermit. "Later" he went to the South and settled in the mountains of Shan-hsien 剡縣 in Western Chekiang; this most probably happened in the second decade of the fourth century when so many prominent monks fled from the North. The people of his time used to compare him to Yü Yüan-kuei 庾元規, *i.e.*, Yü Liang 庾亮 (289-340) who must have been one of his contemporaries. He and his pupil Yü Tao-sui 于道遂 died at Hsiang-lin in Indo-China during an unsuccessful attempt to reach India via the southern route. Since Yü Tao-sui at the age of fifteen became his disciple in the North, before Yü Fa-lan had moved to Shan-hsien, (cf. his biography in *KSC* IV 350.2.13 sqq.), and died together with his master at Hsiang-lin at the age of thirty, it follows that less than fifteen years separate Yü Fa-lan's crossing the Yangtze (310/320) from his death, so that we may conclude that Yü Fa-lan's activities in the South fell in the period 310/320-325/335. Cf. also the late fifth century *Ming-hsiang chi* quoted in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* (T 2122) XXVIII 492.1 and LIV 694.3, according to which Yü Fa-lan was still active in the North (Chung-shan, cf. below, note 204) at a "clandestine" *vihāra* in the period 280-290 AD, but the story seems to be apocryphal.

¹³⁶ Chih Ch'ien's period of activity as a translator is indicated by Chih Min-tu (ca. 300 AD, *CSTCC* VII 49.1.29) as "from the *huang-ch'u* 黃初 era (220-226) to the

chien-hsing 建興 era (252-253)"; Seng-yu (*ib.* XII 97.3.10) specifies "from the first year *huang-ch'u* (220) onward". In the earliest sources the number of translations is variously given as 27 (Seng-yu *ib.*) and 49 (KSC I 325.2.2). Chih Min-tu seems to have had access to an ancient list of Chih Ch'ien's translations (cf. CSTCC VII 49.2.1 where he says 自有別傳記錄云出此經), but he vaguely speaks about "several tens of works" 數十卷 or, according to the Korean edition, "several tens of scrolls" 數十卷.

¹³⁷ T 54, 68, 76, 87, 169, 185, 198, 225, 281, 362, 474, 493, 532, 533, 556, 557 559, 581, 632, 708, 735, 790, 1011. One of these (T 68) is not mentioned by Tao-an.

¹³⁸ Judgment on Chih Ch'ien's way of translating: Chih Min-tu in his 合首釋疑經記, CSTCC VII 49.1.26: 以季時向文時好簡略故其出經頗從文麗然其屬辭新理文而不越約而或虧; Tao-an in his 般若經抄序, *ib.* VII 52.3.13: 巧則巧矣懼窳成而混沌終矣; Seng-chao 僧肇 in his 維摩詰經序, *ib.* VIII 58.2.9: 依支[謙竺][法護]所出理滯於文事懼末宗墮於譯人. Most severe is Hui-jui 慧叡 in his 思益經序 (403 AD, CSTCC VIII 58.1.4): "In the earlier translation (of this scripture), Kung-ming (Chih Ch'ien) has much embellished the wordings of the text, thereby muddling its meaning, so that the Grand Model was prevented by a faulty text, and its excellent flavour was diluted by frivolous adornment" 恭明前譯頗麗其辭的迷其旨是使弘深乖於譯文至味淡於華豔.

¹³⁹ Chih Min-tu in CSTCC VII 49.2.1; cf. T'ang Tung-t'ung p. 134.

¹⁴⁰ (*Ta ming-tu (wu-chi) ching* [大]明度[無極]經, CSTCC II 7.1.8. On the glosses to its first chapter see p. 54. The use of *tu* 度 (for 渡 "to cross") as a translation of *pāramitā* ("mastery, supremacy, perfection", derived from *parama*) is based on a false etymology which derives the word from *pāram* ("the other shore", "the opposite side") and *itā* ("gone", *fem.*), cf. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues* vol. I, p. 2. *Tu-wu-chi* 度無極 is actually a double translation. But the interpretation of *pāramitā* as "gone to the other shore" is certainly of Indian origin, cf. *Abh. Kosa* IV p. 231 and Lamotte, *Traité* p. 701; it has also given rise to the Tibetan standard equivalent of *pāramitā*, *pha.rol.tu phyin.pa*. A still more fantastic etymology, no doubt based on the half-understood explanations of his Indian informants, is given by Tao-an in the last phrase of his 重評法華波羅蜜經抄序 CSTCC VIII 52.3.25: 摩訶大也餘羅若皆也波羅度也蜜無極 *Mahā*, i.e., "great", *prajñā* i.e., wisdom, *pāra* i.e. "to go beyond", *mitā* "without limit". It seems that here the term was analyzed into *pāra* + *amita*, "the further shore" and "immeasurable", neglecting the fusion of the two short *a* which would furnish **pārāmitā*.

¹⁴¹ If Chih Ch'ien ever made such a version this does not prove that the "Sūtra in 42 sections" is based on an Indian original; he may simply have made a polished redaction of the existing Chinese text. But the tradition which ascribes such a version to Chih Ch'ien is highly suspect, cf. Pelliot, *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 393.

¹⁴² CSTCC XIII 97.3.12 = KSC I 325.2.3.

¹⁴³ CSTCC XII 97.2.2.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *HHS* 118.8b (s.v. Ta-Ch'in) and 10a (s.v. T'ien-chu); *Liang-shu* 54 (introduction to the section on the "Southern barbarians") 1a.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Chavannes in *TP* X, 1909, p. 202 note 2.

¹⁴⁶ Chavannes, *ib.* and in *BEFEO* III, 1903, p. 430, note.

¹⁴⁷ Pelliot in *BEFEO* III, 1903, p. 271, 275-279, 303 and 430, and Chavannes, *ib.* p. 430, note.

¹⁴⁸ *San-kuo chih, Wu-chih* 4 p. 518a. Cf. Hu Shih 胡適, "Yü Chou Shu-chia lun Mou-tzu shu" 吳國叔述論牟子書 in *Lun hsüeh chin-chu* vol. I, p. 151-154; Fukui Kōjun, *op.cit.* p. 109-110 and 391-395; Lao Kan 勞幹, "Lun Han-tai chih lu-yün yü shui-yün" 論漢代之陸運與水運, *CYYY* XV, 1947, p. 69-91, esp. p. 90-91. Hu Shih and Fukui are probably right in regarding these incense-burning *Hu-jen* as Indian or Central Asian Buddhist monks employed by the governor—the use of the word *hu* 胡 points in that direction, the aborigines of the southern countries

being generally designated by the term *man* 蠻. We can hardly go as far as Fukui who, on account of a certain similarity with Buddhist ceremonies described by Fa-hsien and other pilgrims, recognizes in this passage the description of a Buddhist procession. For Chang Chin cf. *SKC comm.* to *Wu-chih* 1.482B.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. K'ang Seng-hui's preface to the *An-pan shou-i ching* 安般守意經序 in *CSTCC* VI, esp. p. 43.2.24, and his preface to the *Fa-ching ching* 法鏡經序, *ib.*, esp. p. 46.3.9. It is not impossible that K'ang Seng-hui had been living or roaming around in China for some time before he came to Chienyeh. According to T'ang Yung-t'ung (*History*, p. 136), his preface to the *An-pan shou-i ching* was written before 229, i.e., at least fifty-one years before his death in 280. Since K'ang Seng-hui, as T'ang himself observes (*ib.*) must have been in the middle years of his life when he wrote this preface, he should in that case have been at least some ninety years old when he died. This is by no means impossible, but the fact—apt to be recorded in Chinese biographical literature—is nowhere mentioned. However, T'ang Yung-t'ung's argument, viz. that K'ang Seng-hui when speaking about the activities of An Shih-kao calls Loyang "the capital" 東師, whereas after 229 (the year in which Sun Ch'üan declared himself emperor of the state of Wu) "the capital" was no longer Loyang but Chienyeh, is not valid. In connection with the same events Loyang is in retrospect called "the capital" in an anonymous preface to a commentary to the *Yin-ch'ih-ju ching* 陰持入經注 (T 1694, cf. below, p. 54) which dates from the middle of the third century and which is certainly of southern provenance. Even more clear is the case of the anonymous *Cheng wu lun* (cf. above, p. 15) where the term *ching-lo* 京洛, "the capital Lo(yang)" is used, although internal evidence proves that the polemic treatise in question was written in southern China at some date after 324, at least seven years after the transfer of the Chinese capital to Chien-k'ang, and at least thirteen years after Loyang had fallen into the hands of the Hsiung-nu invaders.

¹⁵⁰ *CSTCC* XIII 96.2.1; somewhat more extensive in *KSC* I 325.1.13, translated by Ed. Chavannes, "Seng-houei", *TP* X, 1909. p. 199-212. Even more legendary is the account of K'ang Seng-hui's missionary activities at the Wu court given in the late Buddhist forgery entitled *Wu-shu* 吳書, which probably dates from the second half of the sixth century, after the loss of the original *Wu-shu* (compiled by Wei Yao 韋曜 and others in the third quarter of the third century); cf. Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, p. 108-109. The (Buddhist) *Wu-shu* is extensively quoted in the *Hsü chi ku-chin fo-tao lun-heng* 續集古今佛道論衡, T 2100 p. 402.1.9 sqq. (trsl. by Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, p. 109-110) and in *Fa-yuan chu-lin* LV 700.3; extract in *KHMC* I 99.3.13 sqq. It is not improbable that the *Wu-shu* was chosen as the base for this Buddhist forgery precisely because of Wei Yao's alleged connection with Chih Chien (cf. above, p. 49). The important role played in the pseudo-*Wu-shu* by Sun Ch'üan's director of the palace writers K'an Tse 闕譯 (died 243, *Wu-chih* 8.543b) who there is made to extol the excellence of the Buddhist doctrine is perhaps connected with another late (13th cent.) tradition according to which this magistrate had founded the Te-jun monastery 德潤寺 at Mt. Ssu-ming 四明 (Chekiang) in 242 (*Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* LIII, T 2035 p. 463.2.25); a tradition which may have originated from the fact that the name of this monastery, Te-jun, was also the *tzu* of K'an Tse.

¹⁵¹ For this shrine cf. Lu Pi 盧弼, *San-kuo chih chi-chieh* 三國志集解 (Peking, 1957) 64.28b.

¹⁵² *Wu-chih* 19.629a, cf. *Liang-shu* 54.5b.

¹⁵³ *Wu-chih* 14.593b: 傳黃老之術, 篤養神光

¹⁵⁴ *Wu-chih* 2.497a-b.

¹⁵⁵ *CSTCC* XIII 97.1.11 = *KSC* I 326.1.18.

¹⁵⁶ Translated by Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues*, vol. I, p. 1-347.

¹⁵⁷ For the first time mentioned in his biography in *KSC* I 326.1.21; translated by Chavannes, *op.cit.* p. 347-428.

¹⁵⁸ *CSTCC* II 7.1.28; in his biography *ib.* XIII 97.1.14 called *Tao-p'in* 道品, and *Hsiao-p'in* 小品 in *KSC* I 326.1.20.

¹⁵⁹ K'ang Seng-hui's commentary to this scripture is mentioned by Seng-yu in his biography (*CSTCC* XIII 97.1.13) together with several other works, of which only the *Liu-tu chi-ching* and the *Wu-p'in* are mentioned in his biographical chapters (*ib.* II 7.1).

¹⁶⁰ Of these introductory sections, Chavannes (*Cinq cents contes . . .*, vol. I) has only translated no. 1 (*dāna*, p. 2-3), no. 2 (*śīla*, p. 97) and no. 4 (*virya*, p. 213-214): Section 3 (*kṣānti*) and 5 (*dhyāna*) have not been translated (cf. *ib.* p. 154, note 1 and p. 267, note 1). The section on *dhyāna*, which should be studied together with K'ang Seng-hui's preface to the *An-pan shou-i ching* in *CSTCC* VI, is one of the most important documents of third century Chinese Buddhism.

¹⁶¹ Quotations from the *Ta ming-tu ching* in T 1694: p. 10.2.13; 13.2.22; 21.2.19; quotation from the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* p. 15.1.18.

¹⁶² It is not improbable, as T'ang Yung-t'ung suggests (*History* p. 134), that these glosses were added by Chih Ch'ien himself. Chih Ch'ien was also active as a commentator: a commentary by him on the *Liao-pen sheng-ssu ching* 了今生死經 is mentioned by Tao-an and by Seng-yu in *CSTCC* VI 45.2.21 and XIII 97.3.13 = *KSC* I 325.2.4.

¹⁶³ Cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung p. 138.

¹⁶⁴ None of these translators is mentioned by Tao-an or by Seng-yu; with the exception of An Fa-hsien who does not occur in sources earlier than the *Li-tai SPC* (597 AD), they all figure for the first time in *KSC* I 324.3.15 sqq. Since all later bibliographies refer to the (lost) *Wei-shih lu* 魏世錄 (compiled by Shih Tao-liu 釋道流 and completed by Chu Tao-tsu 竺道祖 around 419 AD, cf. Pelliot in *TP* XXII, 1923, p. 102) we may assume that this was the source on which the account of the *KSC* was based. Seng-yu nowhere quotes or refers to the four catalogues (*Wei-shih lu* 魏世錄, *Wu-shih lu* 吳世錄, *Chin-shih (tsa)-lu* 晉世[難]錄 and *Ho-hsi lu* 河西錄) of Tao-liu and Tao-tsu, and seems to have been ignorant of their existence.

¹⁶⁵ Maspero in *BEFEO* X, 1910, p. 225 sqq.; cf. Pelliot in *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 344 note 64.

¹⁶⁶ 設復齋戒; *fu* 復 seems to be a deformation of *she* 設 (the cursive forms of the two characters being almost identical) which has crept into the text.

¹⁶⁷ *KSC* I 324.3.28: 亦有卑僧未稟歸戒,正以剪落殊俗耳,設復齋戒事法禱祀

¹⁶⁸ The *Karmavācanā* (the Skt. equivalent of Pāli *Kammavācā*, cf. *Mahāvvyutpatti* 866.3.6), the formulary of "acts" (*karman*) in question-and-answer form, to be recited in the *upasampad(ā)* ceremony, is the basic text for the ordination of monks. For the versions in various languages see H. W. Bailey, "The Tumshuq *Karmavācanā*", *BSOAS* XIII, 1949/1950, p. 549 sqq. The transcription *T'an-wu-te* 曇無德 (AC. **d'ām.mjju.tək*) for *dharmaguptaka* probably represents a Prākṛit form **dhamma-uttaka*, cf. Bagchi, *Canon* p. 79. The works translated by K'ang Seng-k'ai and T'an-ti mark the beginning of the introduction into China of the canonical scriptures of the Dharmaguptaka sect, a branch of the Mahīśāsaka, founded by Dharmagupta, but traditionally even traced back to the Buddha's disciple Maudgalyāyana. In later times the greater part of their canon was translated into Chinese: certainly their whole *vinaya* (T 1428 *Ssu-fen lü* 四分律—the division in four parts is characteristic of this *vinaya*—trsl. early fifth century by Dharmayaśas), whereas the Chinese *Dirghāgama* (T I 吳所舍經, trsl. Dharmayaśas) and the Abhidharma treatise called the *Sāriputrābhidharmaśāstra* (T 1548, trsl. Dharmayaśas and Dharmagupta) probably also belong to this school. Cf. A. Bareau, *Les sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, 1955, p. 190 sqq.

¹⁶⁹ Mentioned in the *Fa-lun mu-lu* 法論目錄 by Lu Ch'eng 陸澄 (ca. 465 AD),

CSTCC XII 83.1.2 and 85.1.12, cf. HMC XIV 96.1.3; T'ang Yung-t'ung p. 125-126; K. P. K. Whitaker, "Tsaury Jyr and the Introduction of Fannbay 梵明 into China", BSOAS XX, 1957, p. 585-597, esp. p. 589.

¹⁷⁰ K. P. K. Whitaker (see preceding note); furthermore T'ang Yung-t'ung p. 133-134; *Hōbōgirin* s.v. *Bombai* p. 95-96; KSC XIII 415.1.13, *Fa-yüan chu-lin* T 2122 p. 576.1.

¹⁷¹ *Pao-p'u tzu* II (論仙), ed. *Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng* p. 4.

¹⁷² KHMV 118.3.21 sqq.; critical edition by Ting Yen 丁晏 in *Ts'ao-chi ch'üan-p'ing* 曹集餘評 (1865), reprint Peking, 1957, p. 155-159.

¹⁷³ *Wei-shu* 114.3a; Ware, "Wei Shou on Buddhism", *TP* XXX, 1933, p. 121-122; trsl. Léon Hurvitz p. 46.

¹⁷⁴ CS 26 (*Shih-huo chih*) p. 8a, cf. Lien-sheng Yang, "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin dynasty", *HJAS* IX, 1945-'47, p. 107-185, esp. p. 115-116 and 168-169.

¹⁷⁵ Comm. to *Wei-chih* 13.176a quoting the *Wei-lüeh*; *Sung-shu* 14.17b sqq.

¹⁷⁶ CS 3.9a and 24.8b-9a.

¹⁷⁷ CS 3.5b, 6b, 12b, 13a, 13b, 14b.

¹⁷⁸ CS 97 (section on Ferghana, 大宛) p. 8a; cf. Chavannes in M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford 1907, Appendix A, p. 545.

¹⁷⁹ See document N. xv. 93 a.b., fragment of an official letter found at the Niya site, text and translation by Chavannes in Stein, *op.cit.*, Appendix A, p. 537. Chavannes' interpretation (acc. to which the titles enumerated in this document belonged to one person, viz. Lung-hui 龍會, king of Qarašähr) is not correct; since Wang Kuo-wei (*Liu-sha chui-chien*, *pu-i k'ao-shih* p. 2b-3b) has joined to this fragment another one which contains the rest of the opening words of this official letter, it appears to be either a proclamation jointly issued by "The kings of Shan-shan, Qarašähr, Kuchā, Kashgar and Khotan, who are provisionally appointed by the Chin as Palace attendants and Grand Commandants, (invested as) Grand Marquises Who Uphold-the-Chin (dynasty), allied to the Chin" 晉守侍中大都尉奉晉大侯親晉鄯善焉耆龜茲疏勒于窠王... or a Chinese imperial edict transmitted to these rulers. Another interesting fact, not mentioned by the Chinese annals, but referred to in some fragments of official correspondence found by Stein in Central Asia, is that in 268 AD the Chinese government held a military expedition against Kao-ch'ang (Turfan), cf. Maspero, *Les documents chinois de la troisième expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie centrale*, London 1953, p. 60.

¹⁸⁰ For text and translation of documents of the Western Chin period found at Niya and Lou-lan found by Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin see Chavannes in *Ancient Khotan* (cf. note 149) p. 537-545; Chavannes, *Documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein*, Oxford 1913, p. 155-200; A. Conrady, *Die Chinesischen Handschriften- und Kleinfunde Sven Hedins in Lou-lan*, Stockholm 1920; Maspero, *op.cit.*, (cf. note 150) p. 52-78; Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 and Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉 in *Liu-sha chui-chien* 流沙墜簡, second revised edition (shortly before 1935; no date).

¹⁸¹ CS 26 (*Shih-huo chih*) p. 4b; L. S. Yang, "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin dynasty", *HJAS* IX, 1945-'47, p. 154-155. The reforms in question are attributed to the energetic prefect of Tunhuang, Huang-fu Lung 皇甫隆 (appointed ca. 251).

¹⁸² In the fourth century several Chinese versions of the *Prajñāpāramitā* in 8,000 and in 25,000 lines had already been made, and the bewildering variety of what was rightly regarded as more or less expanded versions of one and the same basic scripture was enhanced by the vague rumors about the existence of still other versions in India. The Chinese (clerical) *literati*, inveterate bibliographers, tried to elucidate the filiation of these texts by means of various theories. The earliest explanation was that the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā p'p'* was an abstract made from the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*. Chih Tun 支遁 (314-366): "I have heard all previous scholars transmit (the theory) that, after

the Buddha's decease, the small version (小品, in 8,000 lines) was made as a summary of the large version (大品, in 25,000 lines)" (大小品對比要約序, CSTCC VIII 55.2.16). In the same way, Tao-an: "After the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa*, an eminent scholar abroad (外國高士) summarized the ninety sections (of the 25,000 *p'p'*) into the *Tao-hsing p'in* 道行品 (= 8,000 *p'p'*)" (道行經序, CSTCC VII 47.2.15). I do not know of any Indian counterpart of this theory. On the other hand, it is only natural that the Chinese, at a time when the making of such "abstracts" of Buddhist scriptures was much en vogue, came to conclude—contrary to the opinion of modern scholarship—that the smaller version was a secondary product based upon the more comprehensive one. However, Chih Tun also mentions another explanation (*ib.* 56.1.23): "But formerly I have heard (the following theory). The large as well as the small version are both derived from the basic version (本品). The text of the basic version comprises 600,000 words; at present it circulates in India and has not yet reached China. Now these two abstracts (the 8,000 and 25,000 *p'p'*) also come from the large text; the way of derivation is not the same, but the small version is the earlier product (of the two). Although these two scriptures both derive from the basic version, yet from time to time there are differences, as the small version contains passages which are lacking in the large one, and *vice versa* . . .". There can be little doubt as to the identity of this "basic text" mentioned by Chih Tun: he must somehow have heard of the existence of the most exuberant product of Mahāyāna literature, the *Prajñāpāramitā* in 100,000 lines. The number of 600,000 words (*tsu* 字) is certainly a mistake; elsewhere this number is given to denote the extent of the Indian text of the 25,000 *p'p'* (cf. above, p. 63). The (perhaps much later) tradition that the largest *Prajñāpāramitā* was found by Nāgārjuna in the realm of Nāgas (Tāranātha's *Rgya-gar chos-'hyun* paraphrased by M. Walleser, "The life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese sources", *As. Maj.*, Hirth Anniversary volume p. 1-37, esp. p. 10, cf. also Et. Lamotte, *Traité* p. 941) was probably not yet known in China at that date; it is for the first time mentioned in the "biography" of Nāgārjuna 龍樹菩薩傳 (T 2047 p. 184.3) wrongly ascribed to Kumārajīva. Chi-tsang 吉藏 (549-623) in his *Ta-p'in ching yu i* 大品經遺意 (T 1696 p. 67.3.29) identifies the largest version of the *p'p'* with the original text of the *Kuang-tsan ching* 光讚經 (T 222, trsl. by Dharmarakṣa), but this is certainly wrong. The *Kuang-tsan* is nothing but an incomplete version of the 25,000 *p'p'* (which, moreover, in Chih Tun's time was still unknown, cf. p. 70), and Chi-tsang's theory is probably based on an equally incomprehensible passage in *Ta chih-tu lun* 67 (T 1509 p. 529.2.23): "(in the *p'p'* scriptures) there are some with many and some with few chapters, there are the higher (the larger, 上), the middle and the lower (the smaller, 下) version), (*viz.*) the *Kuang-tsan*, the *Fang-kuang* and the *Tao-hsing*" 卷有多有少, 有上, 中, 下, 光讚, 放光, 道行 . . . If the *Ta chih-tu lun* is really based on an Indian original, the translator may here simply have substituted the names of three well-known Chinese *p'p'* versions, but the last words may as well be an interpolated gloss by Kumārajīva. In any case it is important to note that in Chih Tun's words we have an allusion to the existence of the *Śatasāhasrikā p'p'* in the first half of the fourth century, more than three centuries before its translation by Hsüan-tsang in 660-663.

¹⁸³ According to Chu Shih-hsing's biography in CSTCC, KSC and all later sources, he went to Khotan in 260 AD. However, our earliest document (CSTCC VII 47.3.11, an anonymous colophon to the *Fang-kuang ching*) mentions 260 as the year of his ordination. In that case his journey to Khotan took place some time after 260. This may be correct; it would explain why Chu Shih-hsing sent his copy of the 25,000 *p'p'* as late as 282, twenty-two years after his departure.

¹⁸⁴ *Pañcaviṃśat(isāhasri)kā Prajñāpāramitā*, hereafter abbreviated as 25,000 *p'p'*.

¹⁸⁵ According to the Tibetan tradition, which in some essential points agrees with the account of Hsüan-tsang, Buddhism was introduced into Khotan by a monk from Kashmir named Vairocana under the reign of the (almost certainly legendary)

king Vijayasambhava of Khotan. Cf. W. W. Rockhill, *The life of the Buddha*, London 1884, p. 230 sqq.; Babu Sarat Chandra Das, "Buddhist and other legends about Khotan" in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1886, I, p. 193-203; S. Lévi, "Notes chinoises sur l'Inde", V. BEFEO V, 1905, p. 256 sqq.; Stein, *Ancient Khotan* p. 151 sqq.; *ib.* Appendix E (p. 581 sqq.): "Extracts from Tibetan Accounts of Khotan" by F. W. Thomas; Hatani Ryōtei 羽根了暉 (Chin. trsl.; *Hsi-yü chih fo-chiao* 西域之佛敎) p. 202 sqq.

¹⁸⁶ For the history of its discovery and for bibliographical information concerning the Ms. Dutreuil de Rhins see S. Lévi in *J.As.* 1912, p. 213-215 and H. W. Bailey, "The Khotan Dharmapada", *BSOAS* XI, 1943-'46, p. 488 sqq.

¹⁸⁷ *HHS* 118.5b.

¹⁸⁸ *HHS* 77 (biography of Pan Ch'ao) p. 3a and 7b.

¹⁸⁹ *HHS* 118.15b sqq.

¹⁹⁰ *SKC*, *Wei-chih* 30. 366b *comm.* quoting the *Hsi-jung chuan* 西域傳 of the *Wei-lüeh*. The Chinese and *kharoṣṭhī* documents found at Niya, half-way between Khotan and the Lop-nor region, clearly show how this was a meeting-place of influences from East and West; cf. Maspero, *Documents chinois* p. 53. On the one hand the flourishing of Buddhism is attested by the numerous remains of stūpas and the occurrence of typically Buddhist names of monks and laymen (Budhamitra, Dham-ñāpāla, Puṃñadeva, Anandāsena) in the *kharoṣṭhī* documents, on the other hand we find, besides the early Prākṛit idiom which at this period functioned as a *lingua franca* in Central Asia, the Chinese language used in edicts of indigenous rulers (cf. note 179) and even in the private correspondence between members of the royal family at Niya (Chavannes, *Documents chinois*, 940-947).

¹⁹¹ Anon. 敎光經記, *CSTCC* VII 47.3.11. Biography of Chu Shih-hsing (mainly based upon this colophon) in *CSTCC* XIII 97.1.18 and *KSC* IV 346.2.10.

¹⁹² *CSTCC* II 11.3.9; *ib.* IX 61.1.1 and XIV 104.1.19.

¹⁹³ *Kao-seng Fa-hsien chuan* 高僧法顯傳, T 2085 p. 857.2, trsl. Beal xxv-xxvii, trsl. Giles p. 4-7.

¹⁹⁴ This is indeed the opinion of Hatani (*op.cit.*, p. 212) and Mochizuki (*Bukkyō daijiten*, p. 222.3).

¹⁹⁵ *KSC* X 389.2.16 (cf. *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XVIII 417.2.12 quoting the late fifth century *Ming-hsiang chi* 冥祥記).

¹⁹⁶ *Ming-hsiang chi* quoted in *Fa-yüan chu-lin*, *ib.*

¹⁹⁷ *Ming-hsiang chi* quoted *ib.*

¹⁹⁸ *KSC* IV 346.3.12. We find the story about Chu Shih-hsing's conflict with the Hinayānists and the ordeal at Khotan for the first time in the *Yü i lun* 喻疑論, a polemic treatise written by Hui-jui 慧叡 around 428 (*CSTCC* 41.3.26, trsl. Lieberthal in *Sino-Indian Studies* V. 2, 1956, p. 94-95). The wording of this passage is almost identical with that of the *KSC*; both accounts are obviously based on one common source (the story as told or written down by Fa-i?), if the compiler of the *KSC* did not directly copy the *Yü i lun*. The tradition concerning Chu Shih-hsing's cremation at Khotan reported by Fa-i is already alluded to by Sun Ch'o 孫綽 in his *Cheng-hsiang lun* 正像論, a fragment of which is quoted in *KSC* IV 346.3.13. The story of the ordeal and of Chu Shih-hsing's cremation figured also in the late fifth century *Ming-hsiang chi*, cf. *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XXVIII 491.1.

¹⁹⁹ *CSTCC* VII 47.3.13.

²⁰⁰ *KSC* IV 346.3.6.

²⁰¹ The name is variously transcribed as 牟如禮 **pjuət(-δ).ńźjwo.d'ān* (colophon *CSTCC* VII 47.3.14), 不如禮 **puət(δ).ńźjwo.d'ān* (biogr. *CSTCC*), and, with assimilation of the t(δ), 分如禮 **pjuən.ńźjwo.d'ān* (Tao-an in *CSTCC* VII 48.1.4). Sakaino's restitution *Puṇyatāra* (*op.cit.* p. 102) is highly improbable. We may hesitate between *Puṇyadhana* and *Pūrṇadharmā*; in the latter case the final -t (δ) renders, as often, a foreign *r* (cf. Karlgren in *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 108-109). The reading *Pūrṇadharmā* is

nearer in meaning to the Chinese translation of the name, *Fa-jao* 法號, but *-dharma* is normally rendered by 法 **d'ām*.

²⁰² CSTCC XIII 97.1.29.

²⁰³ *ib.* VII 48.1.15.

²⁰⁴ The Chinese master K'ang Fa-lang 康法朗 (second half third century) came from Chung-shan; after having travelled to the Western Region he returned to China and settled again at Chung-shan with several hundreds of disciples (*KSC* IV 347.1.28 sqq.; for his journey to the West see also *Ming-hsiang chi* quoted in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XCV 988.1). Chung-shan was also the place of origin of the psalmodist Po Fa-ch'iao 步法矯, born ca. 260 (*KSC* XIII 413.2.25). According to *KSC* IX 387.1.8, Fo-t'u-teng's famous disciple Chu Fa-ya 竺法雅 was also a native of Chung-shan, but elsewhere (IV 347.1.18) he is said to have come from Ho-chien 河間 (Hopei), some hundred miles more to the East (cf. A. F. Wright, "Fo-t'u-teng", *HJAS* XI, 1948, p. 367 and p. 349 note 52). Cf. also the probably apocryphal story about a secret *vihāra* at Chung-shan in the period 280-290 AD in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XXVIII 492.1 and LIV 694.3 (quoting the late fifth century *Ming-hsiang chi*).

²⁰⁵ Sakaino (*op.cit.*: vol. I p. 107) proposes to identify this "master Chih" with Chih Hsiao-lung 支孝龍, who according to the *KSC* studied the *Fang-kuang ching* together with Chu Shu-lan during its revision in 303-304 (cf. p. 64). This is improbable: according to the *KSC* (IV 346.3.7 and 23) Chih Hsiao-lung personally took part in the work of revision at Ts'ang-yüan, whereas Tao-an expressly states that "master Chih from Chung-shan" sent people to Ts'ang-yüan to have copies made.

²⁰⁶ At the end of the third and in the first decades of the fourth century several persons were enfeoffed as king of Chung-shan. In 311, when Liu Yüan's successor, the Hun emperor Liu Ts'ung 劉聰, usurped the throne of the still expanding Hsiung-nu empire, he conferred this title upon his nephew Liu Yao 劉曜 (*CS* 102.2a.); in 323 the same title was given to the Hun general Liu Yüeh 劉岳 (*CS* 103.8b.), but little more than one year later he was vanquished and probably killed by his rival, the Hun warlord Shih Lo 石勒 (*CS* 103.10a. For this battle cf. *KSC* IX, biography of Fo-t'u-teng, p. 384.1.28 sqq., trsl. Wright p. 343.). When Shih Lo had overthrown the Liu and ascended the throne of the "Later Chao", he made his nephew Shih Hu 石虎 king of Chung-shan in 331 (*CS* 105.7a). But hardly anyone of these three can have been the king to whom Tao-an refers. Shih Hu, whose dealing with the Buddhist master Fo-t'u-teng are well-known, must be ruled out—it is highly improbable that the ceremonial entrance of a newly translated sūtra as described by Tao-an took place some forty years after its publication. Before Fo-t'u-teng went to Shih Lo (311 AD) he had stayed at Loyang, where the *Fang-kuang ching* was already much *en vogue*, and the fact that the copyists were sent to Ts'ang-yüan proves that this event took place when the translators had just finished their task. As to Liu Yao, no member of the Hsiung-nu house of Liu seems to have had any connection with Buddhism, whereas Liu Yüeh spent the few months during which he bore this title in campaigns against Shih Lo, and probably never lived at Chung-shan.

²⁰⁷ *CS* 3.9b.

²⁰⁸ *CS* 4.2a.

²⁰⁹ CSTCC VII 47.3.16.

²¹⁰ According to CSTCC VII 47.3.23, Chu Shu-lan revised the *Fang-kuang ching* together with a (further unknown) monk named Chu Fa-ch'i 竺法家. In *KSC* IV 346.3.7 Chih Hsiao-lung 支孝龍 is said to have taken part in the revision, whereas Chu Fa-ch'i is not mentioned (cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History* p. 166). This may well be a copyist's mistake, but Chih Hsiao-lung seems actually to have been at Ts'ang-yüan at this time. In his biography (*ib.* IV 346.3.23) it is said that he investigated the text of the *Fang-kuang* immediately after its publication during more than ten days, after which he was able to explain its meaning. Cf. note 205.

²¹¹ *KSC* VII 47.3.16.

²¹² KSC I 327.3.13, cf. Bagchi, *Canon* p. 83 note 2. The term *kao-tso* "elevated seat" (of the expounder of the *dharma*) occurs already in this sense in the late second century *Chung pen-ch'i ching* 中平起經, T 196 ch. II, p. 157.3.7 and 8.

²¹³ The mysterious mid. third century Chu Fa-lan 竺法蘭 (above, p. 49; a Chinese?) and Chu Fa-hu are the first known examples. Chinese monks like Yen Fou-t'iao 嚴浮調 (above, p. 34) and even Dharmarakṣa's contemporary Chu Shih-hsing 朱士行 retained their normal surnames after their ordination.

²¹⁴ Anonymous colophons CSTCC VII 50.2.6, VIII 56.3.16, IX 63.2.14; Chih Min-tu in CSTCC VII 49.2.8.

²¹⁵ CSTCC XIII 97.3.23; cf. KSC I 326.3.6.

²¹⁶ HS 96A.1a; comm. to SKC, *Wei-chih* 7.97a quoting the *Han-shu* (read: *Hou-Han shu*) by Hsieh Ch'eng 謝承 (first half third century).

²¹⁷ CSTCC VII 50.3.27, VIII 57.3.20, IX 63.2.14; cf. KSC I 327.1.12.

²¹⁸ CSTCC II 7.2.7-9.3.4; biogr. CSTCC XIII 98.1.2; KSC I 326.3.13.

²¹⁹ It is doubtful whether the so-called (*Chu*) *Fa-hu (chung-ching) mu-lu* [竺]法護 [護]目錄, mentioned in *Li-tai SPC* and later sources, ever existed; it is never quoted. In CSTCC IX 63.2.11 Seng-yu mentions in passing a *Hu-kung lu* 護公錄, but no work of this kind is listed among Dharmarakṣa's works in CSTCC, and this *Hu-kung lu* may as well refer to the list of translations of Dharmarakṣa in Tao-an's or Seng-yu's own catalogue.

²²⁰ On this catalogue see Hayashiya, *op.cit.*, p. 296 sqq.

²²¹ (1) Anon. 後漢天子經記, 266 AD, Ch'angan; CSTCC VIII 48.2.22.

(2) Tao-an, 合放先充護略解序, about the translation and transmission of the *Kuang-ts'an ching* (trsl. 286 AD, Ch'angan) CSTCC VII 48.1.1; *id.* in Tao-an's 摩訶訶羅若波羅蜜經抄序, *ib.* VIII 52.2.8 sqq.

(3) Anon. 華嚴經記, 308 AD, Ch'angan; *ib.* VII 48.2.27.

(4) Anon. 賢劫經記, 300 AD, Ch'angan?; *ib.* 48.3.2.

(5) Chih Min-tu, 合首釋華嚴經記, quoting colophon on 勇伏定經 (= *Śūramgamasamādhisūtra*), trsl. 291 AD, Ch'angan; *ib.* 49.1.22.

(6) Wang Seng-ju 王僧 (465-522), 慧印三昧及濟力中 釋序記, reproduces colophon on 濟力等學經, date unknown, Chiu-ch'üan?; *ib.* 50.3.27.

(7) Anon. 阿維越致建經記, 284 AD, Tunhuang; *ib.* 50.2.1.

(8) Anon. 鹿野經記, 289 AD, Loyang; *ib.* 50.2.6.

(9) Anon. 聖法印經雜記, 294 AD, Chiu-ch'üan; *ib.* 50.2.4 and 51.1.27.

(10) Anon. 文殊師利淨律經記, 289 AD, Loyang; *ib.* 51.2.8.

(11) Anon. 正法華經記, trsl. 286, Ch'angan; revised 288 (?), reading, with T'ang Yung-t'ung, 九年 inst. of 元年 at Ch'angan; CSTCC VIII 56.3.16.

(12) Anon. 正法華經雜記 (describes the copying and oral explanation of this scripture at Loyang in 290 AD); *ib.* 56.3.25.

(13) Anon. 持心經記, 286 AD, Ch'angan; *ib.* 57.3.19.

(14) Anon. 漸備經十位胡名并書叙 (probably by Tao-an), quoting colophon on 漸備一切智德經, 297 AD, Ch'angan; CSTCC IX 62.2.5.

(15) Anon. 如來大哀經記, 291 AD, Ch'angan; *ib.* 63.2.13.

(16) Anon. colophon on the 修行道行經, 284 AD, Tunhuang; T 606 ch. VII p. 230.2 (not in CSTCC). Trsl. by P. Demiéville in BEFEO XLIV, 1954, p. 348-349.

Earliest biographies (mainly based on the colophons) in CSTCC XIII 97.3.20 and KSC I 326.3.2.

²²² CSTCC XIII 98.1.3 = KSC I 326.3.45: 經法所以廣流中華者護之力也.

²²³ T 606 ch. VII p. 230 (cf. note 221 nr. 16). *Hou* 侯 is perhaps a title and not a part of the name; cf. Demiéville in BEFEO XLIV, 1954, p. 348 note 1.

²²⁴ CSTCC 50.2.3 (cf. note 221 nr. 7).

²²⁵ Tao-an in CSTCC VII 48.1.2 and IX 62.3.1 (note 221 nrs. 2 and 14). The latter

document figures in *CSTCC* as "anonymous", but its contents prove that it was written by Tao-an; cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 198.

²²⁶ *CSTCC* VII 51.2.8 (cf., note 221, nr. 10).

²²⁷ *ib.* 48.3.2 (note 221, nr. 4).

²²⁸ Cf. note 221, nrs. 7 and 16.

²²⁹ Cf. note 221, nrs. 10 (May 14, 289), 8 (December 30, 289) and 12 (November 3, 290).

²³⁰ Cf. note 221 nr. 9.

²³¹ Cf. Fa-ch'eng's biography in *KSC* IV 347.3.5 sqq.

²³² Fifty-nine works enumerated by Tao-an in the section of his catalogue entitled 遠土異經錄, reproduced by Seng-yu in *CSTCC* III 18.3.3 sqq.; in his time (early sixth century) only six of these had been preserved. Cf. Hayashiya, *op.cit.*, p. 1038 sqq.

²³³ Note 221, nr. 3. The *Lalitavistara* was probably translated at Ch'angan, for the colophon names as Dharmarakṣa's assistant (筆受) the *śramaṇa* Po Fa-chü 帛法巨 who also figures in the colophon on Dharmarakṣa's version of the *Daśabhūmikāsūtra* 漸備一切智德經 in *CSTCC* VII 48.2.27, translated at Ch'angan in 297 AD (note 221, nr. 14).

²³⁴ *KSC* X 388.1.25.

²³⁵ Fa-lin's *Pien cheng lun* 辯正論 (626 AD), T 2110, ch. III p. 502.3.11.

²³⁶ *KSC* IX 383.2.18; trsl. Wright, *HJAS* XI, 1948, p. 337.

²³⁷ Tao-an in *CSTCC* VII 48.1.19 (note 221 nr. 2) and IX 62.2.25 (note 221, *ib.*).

²³⁸ Mentioned by Tao-an and Seng-yu in *CSTCC* II 9.3.5 and in his biography, *ib.* XIII 98.1.23 = *KSC* I 327.1.3. Dharmarakṣa's original, more extensive, version (*CSTCC* II 8.3.15) counted also two *chüan*; Nieh Ch'eng-yüan seems to have only reduced the number of repetitions and to have added some stylistic improvement. His version has been preserved (T 638).

²³⁹ *KSC* I 327.1.1.

²⁴⁰ Cf. Hayashiya, *op.cit.*, p. 285-290.

²⁴¹ Indians: Chu Li 竺力 at Ch'angan, Cheng-jo 征后 at Tun-huang; Kuchean: Po Yüan-hsin 帛元信 at Ch'angan, perhaps also Po Fa-chü 帛法巨 (although this person was active as a *pi-shou* 筆受 noting down the Chinese text; if he was a foreigner he must have been thoroughly sinicized); Yüeh-chih: Chih Fa-pao 支法寶 at Tunhuang; Khotanese: Gitamitra; Sogdian: K'ang Shu 康殊 (again active as a *pi-shou*).

²⁴² Cf. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, p. 348-349, and above, note 221 nr. 16. I see no way to separate the names and to define their number; T'ang Yung-t'ung (p. 158) punctuates as follows: 贊者李應榮承索烏子. 劉暹時. 通武. 支晉. 支晉寶等三十餘人----

²⁴³ *CSTCC* VIII 56.3.21 (note 221, nr. 11). Their role as donors is indicated by the formula 共勸助歡喜.

²⁴⁴ Biogr. *CSTCC* XIII 98.1.11; *KSC* IV (biogr. Fa-ch'eng) 347. 2.25.

²⁴⁵ Kumārajīva on the fundamental difference between the doctrine of the *Lotus sūtra* and other Mahāyāna scriptures in his correspondence with Hui-yüan, *Ta-sheng ta i-chang* 大乘大義章, T 1856, ch. I p. 126.3.5 and ch. II p. 133.2.19. For the relation between the doctrine of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Lotus* and on the *ekayāna* see Seng-jui's (or rather Hui-jui's) preface to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā p'p'* (僧叡, 小品經序), *CSTCC* IX 54.3.22, his colophon on the *Lotus sūtra* (法華經後序) *ib.* 57.2.24, and Hui-kuan's 慧觀 "Essentials of the *Saddharmapundarika*" 法華宗要 (*ib.* 57.1.4). It appears very clearly that Kumārajīva and these members of his school were well aware of the special character of the *Lotus sūtra*, the contents of which they regarded, in accordance with *Ta chih-tu lun* ch. 100 (T 1509 754.2.20) as a "secret doctrine" (*guhya-dharma*), different from and even conflicting with other scriptures.

²⁴⁶ Before Dharmarakṣa's time there was, as far as we know, only the still extant very incomplete anonymous translation entitled *Sa-t'an-fen-t'o-li ching* 薩曇芬陀利經

(T 265, I ch.) which corresponds to sections 10-12 of Dharmarakṣa's and Kumārajīva's versions, i.e., the 11th *parivarta* of the present Sanskrit text. In view of the inserted translator's glosses it seems to date from late Han or San-kuo times.

²⁴⁷ Documents mentioned in note 221, nrs. 11 and 12.

²⁴⁸ Cf. the preface to Jñānagupta's translation of the *Lotus sūtra*, 淨品妙法蓮華經, T 264 p. 134.3.

²⁴⁹ Cf. above note 229.

²⁵⁰ CSTCC VIII 57.1.1.

²⁵¹ Tao-an in CSTCC VII 48.1.2 and IX 62.3.1 (祇多羅); Seng-yu in CSTCC II 12.1.19: 祇多羅 (here by mistake placed among the translators of the Eastern Chin). Cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, p. 159.

²⁵² Documents mentioned in note 221, *sub* 2.

²⁵³ CSTCC VII 48.1.11.

²⁵⁴ CSTCC II 9.3.19-10.1.3.

²⁵⁵ CSTCC XIII 98.1.27.

²⁵⁶ T 2034 VI 66.3-68.1; T 2154 II 499.2.2 sqq. Cf. Bagchi, *Canon* p. 136-147.

²⁵⁷ CSTCC IV 30.2.26 (= T 2146 I 121.2.12; T 2147 I 153.1.4; T 2148 I 184.3.8; T 2149 IX 319.3.18).

²⁵⁸ For Chih Chiang-liang-chieh see T 2034 V 56.3; T 2149 II 227.1.23 T 2151 I 352.2.23; T 2154 II 491.2.24; T 2157 III 788.3.22; Ono Gemyō, *op.cit.* vol. XII p. 47. According to T 2151 and T 2154, his *Fa-hua san-mei ching* was mentioned in the (apocryphal) catalogue of Chu Shih-hsing and in the early fifth century *Wei-shih lu* 魏世錄 by Chu Tao-tsu 竺道祖. The *ethnikon* Chih 支 points to an Indoscythian origin of the translator. The transcription of his name is not clear; it is translated as (*Cheng*) *wu-wei* [正]無畏. Bagchi (*Canon* p. 308) suggests Kālaśiva (**kīang.liang.ts'īāp*), the first two syllables being a nasalised "Southern" transcription of *kāla*, such as we also find in the name of the early fifth century translator Kālayaśas 曇良 [羅梁]耶舍 (trsl. 時禰, KSC III 343.3.11; T 2149 IV 260.1.15). S. Lévi (*J.As.* 1934, p. 16) points out that in the name of Chiang-liang-lou-chih 羅梁婁至 this same element is translated as *chen* 真, and proposes to read this part of the name as Kalyāṇa-. For Chiang-liang-lou-chih (**kīang.liang.lou.tsi*: Pelliot and Bagchi: *Kālaruci*; S. Lévi: *Kalyānaruci*, trsl. as 真季) see T 2034 VI 65.1; T 2149 II 236.1.8 and 243.2.6; T 2151 II 354.1.26; T 2154 II 497.2.18; T 2157 IV 794.3.6; Pelliot, "La théorie des Quatre Fils du ciel", *TP* XXII, 1923, p. 97-126, esp. p. 100 sqq.; Bagchi, *Canon* p. 114-116; S. Lévi, *loc.cit.*; Ono Gemyō, *op.cit.*, vol. XII p. 58. It may be that Chih Chiang-liang-chieh and Chiang-liang-lou-chih stand for the same Indian name; *chieh* 捷, which very rarely figures in Buddhist transcriptions, could be a mistake for *lou* 婁 (written 婁). However, as Bagchi remarks, only one of these men is given the *ethnikon* Chih, and the translation of the names is quite different.

²⁵⁹ Seeming exceptions are the *Mou-tzu* 牟子 (cf. ch. I p. 13 sqq.) and the no doubt spurious "letter of Ts'ao Ts'ao" for which see above, p. 56.

²⁶⁰ HMC XII 81.2.7.

²⁶¹ 藩王, either meaning "enfeoffed relatives of the emperor" or "rulers of the outlying territories", as in the translation. Here the term probably refers to non-Chinese rulers like Shih Lo, Shih Hu and Fu Chien.

²⁶² HMC XII 76.3.23.

²⁶³ Biography of Po Yüan in CSTCC XV 107.1.24 and KSC I 327.1.12; biography of Po Fa-tso in KSC I 327.2.29. The whole of the latter part of this section of the Korean edition of the CSTCC, comprising the story of Po Yüan's discussion with Wang Fou, the life of Po Fa-tso and that of Wei Shih-tu 衛士度, has been copied from the KSC. The other editions, which no doubt represent the original text, only contain a few concluding phrases about the erection of stūpas over Po Yüan's remains and about the translations made by him. See also below, ch. VI note 33.

- ²⁶⁴ *CSTCC* XV 107.2.3 = *KSC* I 327.1.18.
- ²⁶⁵ *CSTCC* VII 48.2.1 (note 221 nr. 3).
- ²⁶⁶ Chih Min-tu in *CSTCC* VII 49.1.24; *ib.* XIII 97.2.23 = *KSC* I 325.1.19.
- ²⁶⁷ *CSTCC* XV 107 note 37 (read 有禪巖 inst. of 音禪巖); *KSC* I 327.2.28.
- ²⁶⁸ *CSTCC* XV 107.2.5 = *KSC* I 327.1.20.
- ²⁶⁹ *CSTCC* has the correct reading 後又甚盛; *KSC* Korean edition has 後又……, all other editions 後又…….
- ²⁷⁰ *CSTCC* and *KSC*, *loc.cit.*
- ²⁷¹ *CSTCC* XV 107.2.9; *KSC* I 327.2.6.
- ²⁷² *KSC* I 327.3.4. In *CSTCC* his name is always written 法作; in view of the use of the character 祖 (with radical 113) in the religious name of his elder brother, the reading 法祚 seems preferable. Maspero (*BEFEO* X p. 224 note 3), who misspells the name as 法祚, proposes to identify Po Yüan's brother with the Fa-tso 法祚 who occurs once in Fo-t'u-teng's biography as one of the latter's disciples (*KSC* IX 384.3.9; trsl. Wright p. 348). But a monk named Fa-tso 法祚 also occurs twice in this same biography (384.2.2 and 386.3.7; trsl. Wright p. 343 and 364). However, this monk can hardly have been identical with Po Yüan's younger brother: the scene in which he figures here took place only a few days before Fo-t'u-teng's death (January 13, 349), more than forty years after the date at which Po Yüan's brother was killed according to his biography.
- ²⁷³ *KSC* I 327.3.5; Fa-ching's 法經 *Chung-ching mu-lu* 衆經目錄 ch. VI, T 2146 148.2.12.
- ²⁷⁴ *KSC* IV 347.3.14.
- ²⁷⁵ *ib.* 348.1.12.
- ²⁷⁶ *Wei-shu* 114.6b; trsl. Ware p. 141, where his explanation of the names Liu Yüan-chen and Lü Po-ch'iang ("i.e., our Jack Robinson and John Doe") is absurd; trsl. Hurvitz p. 67.
- ²⁷⁷ *CSTCC* VII 51.2.13; note 221 nr. 10.
- ²⁷⁸ *CSTCC* II 10.1.19; *KSC* I 327.3.7.
- ²⁷⁹ Biography of Chu Shu-lan in *CSTCC* XIII 98.2.3; less extensive in *KSC* IV 346.3.1. The original form of his Indian name is not known; hypothetical reconstructions like Śuklaratna (Bagchi, *Canon*, p. 121, note 1), or even Saṅgharakṣa (Matsumoto, *Prajñāpāramitā-Literatur* p. 23) are not convincing. *CSTCC* goes into great detail about Chu Shu-lan's grandfather and about his father and uncles, but various elements in this history are organically connected with the obviously legendary account of Chu Shu-lan's own descent into Hell when he was seemingly dead for a short time, a common theme in Chinese Buddhist hagiography which is also set forth in great detail in Chu Shu-lan's biography. Seng-yu may have taken this story from a collection of edifying tales such as the *Ming-hsiang chi*; its late date is betrayed by the fact that the name of Chu Shu-lan's father, Dharmaśiras, is followed by the explanation "in the language of Ch'i, Fa-shou" 齊言法首, Ch'i being the name of the dynasty that reigned from 479 to 501 AD. In the other biographies in *CSTCC* such glosses are generally introduced by *tz'u yün* 此云, "here called ...".
- ²⁸⁰ Cf. Yüeh Kuang's biography in *CS* 43.12a-13b.
- ²⁸¹ *CSTCC* XIII 98.2.19.
- ²⁸² *CSTCC* II 9.3.12. Chu Shu-lan's translation of the *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra* was not mentioned by Tao-an in his catalogue. The attribution probably goes back to the catalogue of Chih Min-tu (first half fourth century), who also mentions it in his 今首禪巖經記, *CSTCC* VII 49.2.8.
- ²⁸³ *KSC* IV 346.3.13: 少以風華見重, 加復神彩, 卓犖高論, 通時。
- ²⁸⁴ Biography in *CS* 49.3a-4a.
- ²⁸⁵ Biography in *CS* 50.4a-5a.
- ²⁸⁶ *CS* 49.14b-15a.

¹ *Hsi jung lun* 從戎論 by Chiang T'ung 江統 (died 310), CS 56.1a sqq.

² CS 97.10a. For the very complicated early history of these immigrated groups, their spread and their routes of infiltration see e.g., the two excellent studies by T'ang Ch'ang-ju 唐長孺: "Wei Chin tsa-hu k'ao" 魏晉雜胡考 and "Chin-tai pei-ching ko-tsu 'pien-luan'-ti hsing-chih chi wu-hu cheng-ch'üan tsai Chung-kuo-ti t'ung-chih" 晉代北境各族「變亂」的性質及五胡政極在中國的統治 in his *Wei Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao shih lun-ts'ung* 魏晉南北朝史論叢, Peking 1955, p. 127-142 and 382-450.

³ For Liu Yüan's ancestral lineage see Peter A. Boodberg, "Two Notes on the History of the Chinese Frontier", *HJAS* I (1936), p. 283-307, esp. p. 291-294.

⁴ A typical case is the revolt of Chang Ch'ang 張昌, described in CS 100.2b sqq. In 303 the harvest had been abundant in the region of Chiang-hsia 江夏 (the modern An-lu 安陸 in Hupei), and, as a result, thousands of vagebonds had flocked there together. A local adventurer, Chang Ch'ang, established a revolutionary movement, changed his name into Li Ch'en 李辰 (presumably in order to pose as a descendant of Lao-tzu?), defeated all government troops and made Chiang-hsia his headquarters. He announced that "a Saint will appear to be the Lord of the people", and used to this end a magistrate whose name he changed into Liu Ni 劉尼 and whom he introduced as the expected Saint and as a descendant of the Han imperial family. His success was overwhelming; he built up an elite army of 30,000 "immortal" soldiers who wore red caps and false beards. Within a few months the revolution spread over five provinces. However, in the same year (303) the Chin general T'ao K'an 陶侃 routed the armies of Chang Ch'ang and exterminated all leaders, and the whole movement collapsed as suddenly as it had started.

⁵ Translation by W. B. Henning, in "The date of the Sogdian ancient letters", *BSOAS* XII, 1948, p. 605-606.

⁶ Most handbooks give 267-330 as the dates of Wang Tao's life; these are based on CS 65.5b (biography of Wang Tao) where he is said to have died in the fifth year *hsien-ho* 咸和 (330) at the age of 64 (Chinese way of reckoning, i.e., 63 real years). However, in the Annals (CS 7) he is mentioned several times after 330 (p. 5a sub 335, 6a sub 338), whereas his death is mentioned (*ib.* 6a) under the year 339 with the exact date (seventh month, day *keng-shen*, i.e., September 8) and with a detailed description of his burial and posthumous honours. The *hsien-ho* 咸和 in the biography is obviously a mistake for *hsien-k'ang* 咸康, the fifth year of which corresponds to 339 AD.

⁷ People like Ku Jung 顧榮, Chi Chan 紀瞻 and Ho Hsün 賀循, whose biographies are all in CS 68.

⁸ *TCTC* 90.1065b. This entry apparently refers to the whole official hierarchy established in that year, down to the clerks and scribes; otherwise the enormous number would remain inexplicable. I have found no corresponding passage in CS 6 (annals of emperor Yüan) or 24 (section on officials).

⁹ Cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung 湯用彤, "Yen-i chih pien" 言意之辨, in his *Wei-Chin hsüan-hsüeh lun-kao* 魏晉玄學論稿, Peking 1957, p. 26-47, esp. p. 34.

¹⁰ Among the founders of *hsüan-hsüeh*, Chung Hui and Ho Yen (cf. below) were high magistrates and politicians; Wang Pi died too early to reach a high post, but he had already begun his official career. Ho Yen was, moreover, an expert ritualist. For the more practical, i.e. political and social, aspects of their theories see ch. XI of Hsiao Kung-ch'üan 蕭公權, *Chung-kuo cheng-chih ssu-hsiang shih* 中國政治思想史 (reedition T'ai-pei 1954), and the extremely biased pamphlet by T'ang Yung-t'ung and Jen Chi-yü 任繼愈, *Wei-Chin hsüan-hsüeh-chung ti she-hui cheng-chih ssu-hsiang lüeh-lun* 魏晉玄學中的社會政治思想略論, Shanghai 1956.

¹¹ Cf. *Pao-p'u tzu*, *wai-p'ien*, section 25 (疾譯, p. 146-150) and 27 (刺繡, p. 151-154). For Ko Hung's position in medieval Chinese thought see T'ang Ch'ang-ju, *Tu Pao-p'u*

tzu t'ui-lun nan-pei hsüeh-feng ti i-t'ung 讀抱朴子推論南北學風的異同, in *Wei-Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao shih lun-ts'ung*, p. 351-381, and Hou Wai-lu 侯外廬 and others, *Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang t'ung-shih* 中國思想通史 vol. III, p. 263-306. By his curious mixture of Taoist religion and Confucian traditionalism, Ko Hung stands outside the main current of medieval Chinese thought. In the two sections of his *Pao-p'u tzu* mentioned above he inveighs against the high-class idlers who disregard the rules of decorum and moral behaviour and who waste their time in noisy gatherings "falsely quoting *Lao-tzu* and *Chuang-tzu*". He uses the term *ch'ing-t'an* 清談 in its old sense of "social criticism".

¹² On the early history of *hsüan-hsüeh* in general see e.g., the nine articles by T'ang Yung-t'ung published or reprinted in his *Wei-Chin hsüan-hsüeh lun-kao* (Peking 1957); Fung Yu-lan (trsl. Derk Bodde), *History of Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton 1953), vol. II p. 168-236; T'ang Ch'ang-ju, *op.cit.*, p. 311-350 (魏晉玄學之形成及其發展); Hou Wai-lu, *op.cit.*, p. 38-62 and 95-122; Ho Ch'ang-ch'ün 賀昌群, *Wei-Chin ch'ing-t'an ssu-hsiang ch'u-lun* 魏晉清談思想初論 (2nd ed., Shanghai 1947). As we are mainly concerned with the development of *hsüan-hsüeh* in the late third and early fourth century, we shall not speak here about the first beginnings of this trend of thought, which can be traced back to the late Han period. There is no doubt an historical connection between the earliest phase of *hsüan-hsüeh* and the late second and early third century centre of *ku-wen* studies at Ching-chou, the residence of Liu Piao 劉表, cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *Wang Pi chih Chou-i Lun-yü hsün-i* 王弼之周易論語新義 in *T'u-shu chi-k'an* IV (1943) p. 28-40, reprinted in *Wei-Chin hsüan-hsüeh lun-kao* p. 84-102, translation by W. Liebenenthal in *HJAS* X (1947) p. 124-161, and Wang Yao 王雱 in *Chung-ku wen-hsüeh ssu-hsiang* 中古文學思想 (vol. I of his *Chung-ku wen-hsüeh shih-lun* 中古文學史論, 6th ed., Peking 1953) p. 44-79, esp. p. 51 sqq. The characteristic combination of *I-ching* and *Lao-tzu* studies dates also from Later Han times: the famous scholar Ma Jung 馬融 (79-166 AD) was the first Confucian exegete known to have written a (no doubt Confucian) commentary on the *Tao-te ching*; cf. Ho Ch'ang-ch'ün, *op.cit.*, p. 14 sqq.

¹³ *I-ching* ch. I, *wen-yen* to hexagram 1 (乾); trsl. Legge p. 417.

¹⁴ *I-ching*, *Hsi-tz'u* appendix I (*chu-shu* ed. p. 28b): 易有太極是生兩儀, trsl. Legge p. 373.

¹⁵ Wang Pi as quoted by Han Po 韓伯 (died ca. 385) in his commentary to *Hsi-tz'u* I (*chu-shu* ed. p. 20a, to the text 大衍之數五十其用四十有九), cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, "Wang Pi Ta-yen i lüeh-shih" 王弼大衍義略釋, in *Wei-Chin hsüan-hsüeh lun-kao*, p. 62-71 and Fung Yu-lan/Bodde vol. II p. 182 sqq.

¹⁶ *I-ching*, *Hsi-tz'u* I (*chu-shu* ed. p. 26b): 開物成務; trsl. Legge p. 371.

¹⁷ CS 43.8a (biogr. of Wang Yen 王衍).

¹⁸ Commentary to *I-ching*, *Hsi-tz'u* I (*chu-shu* ed. p. 11a): 一陰一陽之謂道 cf. Fung Yu-lan/Bodde vol. II p. 183.

¹⁹ Wang Pi's comment to *I-ching*, hexagram 24 (復), *chu-shu* ed. 3.19b.

²⁰ *Ming* 冥 (darkened, latent, obscured, obliterated) is one of the basic terms of *hsüan-hsüeh*. It denotes the "nameless" source of all phenomena *versus* the phenomena themselves, the "substance" *versus* the "function", and, as applied to the mind of the Sage, his inner state of non-activity and intuitive unity with the process of Nature. Cf. the many examples given by Hou Wai-lu, *op.cit.*, p. 232-233.

²¹ *I-ching*, *Hsi-tz'u* I (*chu-shu* ed. p. 30b): 子曰善不盡言言不盡意然則聖人之意其不可見乎; trsl. Legge p. 376.

²² *ib.* 31a. For the argumentation of both parties see the treatise *Yen chin i lun* 言盡意論 (as quoted in *I-wen lei-chü* 19.7b and *SSHY comm.* IB/15b) by Ou-yang Chien 歐陽健 (died 300 AD).

²³ Cf. Wang Pi's well-known words (聖人體無無又不可以訓故不說也) reported in the biography of Wang Pi by Ho Shao 何劭 (died 301 AD), which is quoted in the commentary to *SKC*, *Wei-chih* 28.337b, and Kuo Hsiang in the preface

to his *Chuang-tzu* commentary: 莊生雖未體之言則至矣. For the problem of the relation between words and ideas in medieval Chinese thought see the article by T'ang Yung-t'ung mentioned in note 9.

²⁴ E.g., the passage which says that "the Master's words about (human) Nature and the Way of Heaven cannot be heard" (*LY* V. 12), Confucius' words "I would prefer not to speak" and "does Heaven speak?" in *LY* XVII.19, and his statement "My doctrine has one (principle) which goes through it" 吾道一以貫之 in *LY* IV. 15.1 and XV.2.3. In the same way, the "expedient" character of Confucius' teachings could be inferred from passage like *LY* I. 5-8 where the master gives each time a quite different definition of "filial piety" to different persons, *LY* XI.21 where he gives two contradictory answers to Tzu-lu and Jan Yu, motivating this by saying "Ch'iu (*i.e.*, Tzu-lu) is reserved, so I urged him on; Yu has (the energy) of more than one man, so I held him back", and finally his dictum that "the highest subjects may be announced to those whose talents are above mediocrity" and not to less gifted persons (*LY* VI.19).

²⁵ Cf. the treatise *Ch'ung yu lun* 崇有論 by P'ei Wei 裴頠 (267-300) quoted in his biography, *CS* 35.5b sqq.

²⁶ On the philosophy of Hsiang Hsiu and Kuo Hsiang, and on the complicated problem of the real authorship of the *Chuang-tzu* commentary, see Fung Yu-lan, "Some characteristics of the philosophy of Kuo Hsiang" in the appendix to his *Chuang-tzu, a new selected translation* (Shanghai 1933), p. 145-157; Fung Yu-lan/Bodde vol. II p. 205-236, and esp. Hou Wai-lu, *op.cit.*, p. 208-262.

²⁷ Cf. the *Ta-Chuang lun* 達莊論 by Juan Chi (*CSKW* 45.9a), and the way in which Hsi K'ang contrasts the teachings of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu with each other in his *Pu-i* 卜疑: 寧如老聃之清淨微妙守玄抱一乎. 將如莊周之齊物變化洞達而放逸乎 (*Hsi K'ang chi* 嵇康集, ch. III p. 2a in Lu Hsün's edition, photolithographic reproduction of the manuscript, Peking 1956). Cf. also the controversy between Hsi K'ang and Hsiang Hsiu, the actual author of the *Chuang-tzu* commentary, documents translated by D. Holzman, *La vie et la pensée de Hi K'ang*, Leiden 1957, p. 92 sqq.).

²⁸ This particular use of the word *fen* occurs already occasionally in the *Chuang-tzu* text itself, e.g., V.1a: 以道觀分而君臣之義明. Cf. P. Demiéville in *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 48me année, p. 159, and the many examples listed in Hou Wai-lu, *op.cit.*, p. 244 sqq.

²⁹ E.g., *comm.* I.5a (故乘天地之正者……); *ib.* 3a (遺彼忘我……); *ib.* 19a: the Sage is 萬物性分之表. All references are to the *Ssu-pu pei-yao* edition of the *Chuang-tzu* commentary. For critical notes on the various editions see Wang Shu-min 王叔岷, *Kuo Hsiang Chuang-tzu chu chiao-chi* 郭象莊子注校記, Academia Sinica monograph nr. 33, Shanghai 1950.

³⁰ *Comm.* I.15a.

³¹ 遺之又遺之以至於無遺, cf. *Tao te ching* 48: 損之又損之以至於無為.

³² *Comm.* I 18a.

³³ *Comm.* I 6a.

³⁴ This use of *so-i* 所以, and especially that of *chi* and *so-i chi* is extensively discussed by Hou Wai-lu, *op.cit.*, p. 230 sqq. Like *fen*, the terms *chi* and *so-i chi* occur already in the text of *Chuang-tzu*: V.26b.

³⁵ *Comm.* I 11b (無既無矣則不能生有……); *ib.* 25a (請問夫造物者有邪無邪……); VII. 29a (非唯無不能化而為自也……). Reasoning of this type must have paved the way for the works of Mādhyamika scholastic which were so enthusiastically received and studied by later Chinese clerical *literati*.

³⁶ *Comm.* III 6b.

³⁷ *Comm.* VII.27a: 物物者無物. The term *wu-wu* 物物 is again borrowed from *Chuang-tzu*, IV. 21b.

³⁸ *Comm.* I. 5a: 天地者萬物之總名也. 天地以萬物為體 cf. *ib.* 11b: 故天也者萬物之總名也.

³⁹ *Comm.* I. 12a-b (物各自然……), cf. *ib.* 3a (夫趣之所以異……).

⁴⁰ E.g. *Comm.* I. 6a, I-21b and IV.11b; several examples given in Hou Wai-lu, *op.cit.*, p. 232-233.

⁴¹ E.g. *Comm.* I. 5b, 6a, 6b, 8a; II.15a; III.IIb; IV.15b; V.12b; IX.17a.

⁴² *Comm.* II.3b.

⁴³ *Comm.* I.13a.

⁴⁴ *Comm.* II.21a. Cf. VIII.29b(夫物皆前有其命……) and III.1b(物無非天也……)

⁴⁵ *Comm.* II.7b (至於自然之報……). The course of Nature, which is Fate, works completely arbitrarily. Cf. the theme for debate posed by Yin Hao 殷浩 (?-356) at a *ch'ing-t'an* meeting: "Nature, when endowing (us with our inborn qualities) does so without any conscious intention—why then are there just so few good people and so many wicked ones?" (*SSHY* IB/22b). Tai K'uei 戴逵 (?-396) says in his *Shih i lun* 釋疑論, in which he questions the reality of karmic retribution, that "wisdom and foolishness, good and evil, excellencies and defects, success and failure are all destiny 分命, and are not the result of accumulated deeds (in the past)" (*KHMC* XVIII p. 222.1.21).

⁴⁶ Here again we shall not speak about the earliest history of *ch'ing-t'an*, its relation to the "pure judgments" of Later Han times etc., and as far as possible restrict ourselves to a very summary discussion of *ch'ing-t'an* as it was practised during the period under consideration, i.e., the fourth century AD. General studies on the subject: Liu Ta-chieh 劉大杰, *Wei-Chin ssu-hsiang lun* 魏晉思想論 (Shanghai 1939), esp. p. 167-220; Ch'en Yin-k'o 陳寅恪, *T'ao Yüan-ming chih ssu-hsiang yü ch'ing-t'an chih kuan-hsi* 陶淵明之思想與清談之關係 (Peking 1945); Et. Balazs, "Entre révolte nihiliste et évation mystique", in *Etudes Asiatiques* (1948), p. 27-55; the studies by Ho Ch'ang-ch'ün and Wang Yao mentioned above, note 12; T'ang Ch'ang-ju, *op.cit.*, p. 289-298 (清談與清議); Hou Wai-lu, *op.cit.*, vol. III, p. 26-45 and 74-94.

⁴⁷ *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*, by Liu I-ch'ing 劉義慶 (403-444); commentary by Liu Chün 劉峻 (better known as Liu Hsiao-piao 劉孝標, 462-521). The original title of the work was *Shih-shuo* 世說 or *Shih-shuo hsin-shu* 世說新書; it was anciently divided in 8 or 10 *chüan*. The present-day title seems to date from the Sung period. It is a collection of more than 950 anecdotes grouped together under 36 headings; nowadays (probably since Tung Fen's 董斧 edition of 1138) divided in three *chüan*, each of which consists of two parts, in our references indicated as IA, IB etc. We have used the *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* photolithographic reproduction of Yüan Chiung's 袁宏 edition of 1535. For further bibliographical information cf. W. Hung's preface to the Harvard-Yenching index to the *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* (Index Series no. 12, Peking 1933) and V.T. Yang, "About Shih-shuo hsin-yü", in *Journal of Oriental Studies* II (1955), p. 309-315. On the historical background of the work see Utsunomiya Kiyoyoshi 宇都宮清吉 in *Kandai shakai keizaishi kenkyü* 漢代社會經濟史研究, Tōkyō 1955, ch. XII (p. 473 sqq.), W. Eichhorn, "Zur chinesischen Kulturgeschichte des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts", *ZDMG* XCI (1937) p. 452-483, the study of Et. Balazs mentioned above (note 46) and Yoshikawa Kōjirō, "*Shih-shuo hsin-yü* and its style", *Tōhōgaku* X (1939) p. 86-110. The text of the *SSHY* has been very imperfectly transmitted and many passages have been altered or re-phrased in later times, as clearly appears from a comparison of the present text with an incomplete copy of a T'ang manuscript of the *SSHY* (reproduced in the second volume of the *文學古籍刊行社*, Peking 1956) and with quotations preserved in early works (cf. Yüan Chiung's preface to his edition of 1535, and the examples given by W. Hung, *loc.cit.*). In spite of this, the *SSHY* and its commentary remain sources of primary importance for the cultural history of medieval China. Unfortunately, a considerable number of anecdotes—mainly *bons mots*, short and intentionally cryptic sayings and fragments of conversation alluding to contemporary personalities and happenings—are extremely difficult to understand and to interpret, and this difficulty is enhanced by the use

of rare vernacular expressions and syntactic structures. It is only fair to admit that to the Western sinologue at least one third of the book is more or less ununderstandable, and a new extensive commentary on the *SSHY*, compiled by Chinese scholars with their immense historical and lexicographical knowledge, would be a very important contribution to the study of medieval Chinese history.

⁴⁸ For the role of "characterization" in *ch'ing-t'an* see T'ang Ch'ang-ju, *op.cit.*, p. 289-297 and Hou Wai-lu, *op.cit.*, vol. III p. 86 sqq. It remained important as a means to influence the "public" (*i.e.*, gentry-)opinion. For the primary importance of this "public opinion" for the official career in medieval times cf. the many examples collected by Chao I 趙翼 in *Nien-erh shih cha-chi* 廿二史劄記 VIII (section 九品中正) p. 6a sqq. (ed. *Kuang-ya ts'ung-shu*).

⁴⁹ *SSHY* IIB/3a.

⁵⁰ *ib.* IIB/4b.

⁵¹ *ib.* IIB/6a.

⁵² *ib.* IIB/16b.

⁵³ *ib.* IIB/16b.

⁵⁴ *ib.* IIB/36b.

⁵⁵ *ib.* IA/44b.

⁵⁶ *ib.* IA/45a.

⁵⁷ 林無靜樹，川無停流。These two lines do not occur in any of Kuo P'u's poems collected in the *Han-Wei liu-ch'ao po-san ming-chia chi*.

⁵⁸ *SSHY* IB/32a.

⁵⁹ *ib.* IIB/11b.

⁶⁰ The deer's tail fly-whisk 麈尾 was, as the instrument which dispels "impurity", the attribute of the *ch'ing-t'an* adept; cf. Wang I-t'ung, *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 93-95; Hou Wai-lu, *op.cit.*, p. 66 sqq.

⁶¹ *SSHY* IB/15b-16a.

⁶² *ib.* IB/25b-26a.

⁶³ CS 98.1b (biogr. of Wang Tun).

⁶⁴ CS 73.2b (biogr. of Yü Liang), cf. *TCTC* 93.1097b.

⁶⁵ CS 73.4b (biogr. of Yü Liang).

⁶⁶ CS 77.4a (biogr. of Ho Ch'ung).

⁶⁷ So called in order to distinguish it from the Wang clan from T'ai-yüan 太原 (Shansi), which was also one of the most powerful clans in medieval history; cf. the special study devoted to the vicissitudes of the Wang from T'ai-yüan from Later Han to T'ang times by Moriya Mitsuo 守屋美都雄, *Rikuchō mombatsu no ichi kenkyū* 六朝門閥の研究 (Tōkyō 1951).

⁶⁸ *KSC* IV 350.3.11.

⁶⁹ His name is given as Chu Tao-ch'ien in all editions of the *KSC* except the Korean edition which writes Chu Ch'ien 竺潛; the *SSHY* passages mentioned below refer to him as "the monk Fa-shen" 僧法深, Chu Fa-shen 竺法深 and Master Shen 深公. The main source for his life is *KSC* IV 347.3.14; furthermore *SSHY Comm.* IA/10b (no source mentioned, but very probably the *Kao-i sha-men chuan* 高逸沙門傳 (cf. notes 288-290 below) which is also quoted in connection with Chu Tao-ch'ien in *SSHY Comm.* IA/34b and IIA/18b). According to *KSC* he lived from 286-374, and consequently reached the age of 88 (89, according to the Chinese way of counting). The *SSHY Comm.* IA/10b gives 79 as the age at which he died, but this can hardly be correct. According to the *KSC* (IV 348.1.9), emperor Hsiao-wu (373-397) contributed 100,000 *cash* to his funeral, and the text of the imperial decree is quoted here, so that it is certain that Chu Tao-ch'ien died in or shortly after 373. On the other hand he is said to have explained Buddhist scriptures at the age of 24 when still living in the North (*i.e.*, not later than ca. 307-310, the early years of the *yung-chia* period), which points to the years 284-287 as the date of his birth. All this perfectly agrees with the dates 286-374 given in the *KSC* biography.

⁷⁰ KSC IV 347.3.17.

⁷¹ Cf. *SSHY* IA/10b, where Huan I speaks about the friendship between his father (Huan Ying) and Chu Tao-ch'ien. The name of Huan I's father, about whom practically nothing is known, is in CS 74.1a given as Huan Hao 桓顛.

⁷² KSC IV 347.3.22.

⁷³ *SSHY* IIA/18b.

⁷⁴ KSC IV 350.3.17; cf. *Meisōdeshō* 7b-8a. In the period 363-365 he left the capital and settled with more than a hundred disciples on the Pao-shan 保山 at Shih-ning 始寧 (South of the modern Shang-yü 上虞 in N.E. Chekiang), from where he was again summoned to the capital in 375 by emperor Hsiao-wu (cf. below, p. 151).

⁷⁵ KSC IV 347.1.2.

⁷⁶ *SSHY* IA/35b-36a.

⁷⁷ Quoted in *SSHY Comm.* IA/36a and IB/36a-b, both times as *Jen-wu lun* 人物論; in the second passage the author's name is given as Yü 庾 Fa-ch'ang, where 庾 is obviously a copyist's mistake for 廉. The work is not mentioned by Lu Ch'eng, but it still figures in the *Ta-T'ang NTL* of 664 AD (T 2149 ch. III p. 248.3.21 and *ib.* ch. X p. 330.1.13). Another work of the same title and probably of the same genre is mentioned in KSC V 354.2.26 as a work by the northern monk Chih T'an-tun 支曇敦 who lived at the T'ai-shan (Shantung) in the second half of the fourth century.

⁷⁸ The KSC devotes only a few words to him (IV 347.1.6); there is furthermore one passage in *SSHY* of doubtful historicity: IIIB/27b, cf. note 88. The *comm.* (*ibid.*) quotes some laudatory phrases from the *Ming-te sha-men t'i-mu* 名德沙門題目 and the *Min-tu tsan* 愍度贊, both by Sun Ch'o 孫綽 (cf. below, note 262), and from a third unspecified source. For his catalogue and his teachings see below, notes 79 and 85. The name is variously written as 愍度 (KSC and *CSTCC*), 愍度 (*SSHY*) and 愍度 (Korean ed. of *CSTCC* VII 49.1.17). The character 愍 is preferable, 愍 and 愍 being substitute forms for the T'ang taboo 愍, see T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 266.

⁷⁹ Cf. Hayashiya Tomojirō, *Kyōroku kenkyū* p. 305-325, and, by the same author, the article "Shimindo-roku" 支愍度錄 in Ono Gemyō, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. IV, p. 168.

⁸⁰ *CSTCC* VII 49.1.16: 合首楞嚴經記 and VIII 58.2.21: 合維摩詰經記. His synoptic editions of these scriptures are also mentioned by Seng-yu in *CSTCC* II 10.1.11, where he specifies that they comprised eight and five *chüan* respectively. According to Chih Min-tu's own words, the synoptic edition of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* was based on three versions (those of Chih Ch'ien, Dharmarakṣa and Chu Shu-lan), and that of the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra* on four (those of Lokakṣema, Chih Ch'ien—actually a revised and "polished" edition of the first one—Dharmarakṣa and Chu Shu-lan).

⁸¹ The first known case is Chih Ch'ien's combined edition of three *dhāraṇī* texts, the preface of which has been preserved in *CSTCC* VII 51.3.18 sqq. (合微密持陀隣尼總持三本), cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 132.

⁸² Chih Min-tu in his colophon on the synoptic edition of the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra*: 今以愍 (*i.e.*, Chih Ch'ien) 所定者為母護 (*i.e.* Dharmarakṣa) 所出為子。蘭 (Chu Shu-lan) 所譯者繫之, etc. (*CSTCC* VII 49.2.10).

⁸³ Other fourth century examples are Tao-an's 合放光光讚略解 (preface in *CSTCC* VII 49.1.1) and Chih Tun's 大小品對比要物 (preface in *CSTCC* VIII 55.1.13).

⁸⁴ On these different versions see Edward Conze, *Literary History of the Prajñā-pāramitā* (typed copy privately distributed, London 1954) of which the part dealing with Chinese translations and commentaries (p. 109-115) is rather inaccurate and much too short; the same holds good for Matsumoto Tokumyo, *Die Prajñāpāramitā-*

Literatur (Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft I, Stuttgart 1932). See also the excellent survey of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature and its evolution by Hikata Ryusho in the introduction to his edition of the *Suvikrāntavikrāmi-pariprecchā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (Fokuoka, 1958), p. XIII-LI. As usual, students of Buddhism have been interested mainly in the Chinese translations as secondary material serving to establish the textual history and evolution of the Indian texts; up to now, nobody has attempted to study the earliest Chinese versions as documents of the highest importance for the doctrinal history of early Chinese Buddhism.

⁸⁵ Ch'en Yin-k'io 陳寅恪, "Chih Min-tu hsüeh-shuo k'ao" 支愍度學說考, in *Academia Sinica, Ts'ai Yüan-pei Memorial Volume* (Peking 1933), part I; T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 266-272; W. Liebenthal, *The Book of Chao* (Peking 1948), p. 149-152; Fung Yu-lan/Bodde vol. II, p. 252-256; T'ang Yung-t'ung in *Wei-Chin hsüan-hsüeh lun-kao*, p. 48-61 esp. p. 57-58.

⁸⁶ *Fang-kuang ching* (T 221) ch. I (section 2) p. 4.3.18.

⁸⁷ It must be remarked that Chih Min-tu's theory has nothing to do with the Buddhist dogma of the non-existence of a permanent ego (無我, *anātmya*). He does not deny the existence of a "soul" or "spirit" 神, but only that of "conscious thought" 心 in the mind of the Sage which is "tranquil" 靜 and "vast like empty space" 豁如太虛. Chih Min-tu's idea comes nearer to *śamatha* than to *anātmya*; there is some confusion on this point in T'ang Yung-t'ung's discussion in *Wei-Chin hsüan-hsüeh lun-kao*, p. 58.

⁸⁸ According to *SSHY* IIIB/27b and *comm.*, *ib*: "When the monk Min-tu was about to cross the Yangtze, he had as his companion a monk from the North (僧). Together they made a plan, saying, "If we go to the South with nothing to (expound) but the old exegesis 舊義, we shall perhaps not manage to make a living". Then together they created the theory of non-existence of (conscious) thought 心無義". Later, when both priests were living comfortably, the other monk sent a messenger to Chih Min-tu to tell him that they had now both enough to eat and that it would be indecent and even blasphemous to go on with this trick, but Chih Min-tu continued to propagate his new theory. It is of course very probable that this story has no historical base whatsoever, and that it originated in the ranks of the opponents of Chih Min-tu's theory. For other forms of opposition cf. the heated debate between T'an-i 曇一 and the *hsin-wu* adherent Tao-heng 道恆 at Ching-chou (ca. 365 AD; *KSC* V 354.3.13), and the correspondence between Liu I-min 劉遺民 (*i.e.*, Liu Ch'eng-chih 劉程之) and Seng-chao in 409 AD, which forms part of the present *Chao-lun* (cf. W. Liebenthal, *The Book of Chao*, p. 90 sqq.; Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆 and others, *Jōron kenkyū* 肇論研究, p. 36 sqq.).

⁸⁹ Biographical note in *KSC* IV 346.3.28; furthermore *SSHY* IB/23a, IIIA/17a and IIIB/6b.

⁹⁰ *SSHY* IB/23a, where only the debate is mentioned, and not the "Buddhist and secular scriptures" as in *KSC* IV 347.1.9.

⁹¹ *SSHY* IIIB/6b = *KSC* IV 347.1.11.

⁹² Probably Yü Yüan-chih 庾爰之 or Yü Fang-chih 庾方之 who were banished to Yü-chang in 345 (below, p. 110); cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 170.

⁹³ *SSHY* IIIA/17a, cf. *KSC* IV 347.1.13.

⁹⁴ Chu Fa-yün 竺法蘊, *alias* Chu Fa-wen 竺法漫, cf. below p. 139.

⁹⁵ Biography in *KSC* I 327.3.12 and *CSTCC* XIII 98.3.17; furthermore *Kao-tso chuan* 高坐傳 quoted in *comm.* *SSHY* IIB/5a and IIIA/50b, and *Kao-tso pieh-chuan* 高坐別傳 quoted *ib.* IA/32a; T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 171. The name is written in various ways: 弔尸梨密多羅 in *KSC*, 尸梨蜜 in *CSTCC*, 尸梨蜜 in *Kao-tso pieh-chuan*; translated as Chi-yu 吉友 in *KSC*; in the text of the *SSHY* always called (the monk) Kao-tso 高坐[道人]. The *T'a-ssu chi* 塔寺記 (quoted in *comm.* *SSHY* IA/32a) says that *Kao-tso* was (also?) the name given to Śrimitra's

grave; it is certainly wrong in saying that this grave had been adorned with a *caitya* by emperor Yüan and not, as in *KSC*, by emperor Ch'eng.

⁹⁶ "Biography of Śrimitra" quoted in *TPYL* 653.3a, probably the same work as the *Kao-tso chuan* quoted in *SSHY comm.* (cf. note 95), and as the "biography" 傳 referred to in *KSC* I 327.3.14.

⁹⁷ Cf. *SSHY IA/32a*: "The monk Kao-tso did not speak Chinese. When somebody asked why, (the future emperor) Chien-wen said: "(He does so) in order to reduce the trouble of answering".

⁹⁸ *KSC* I 328.1.11. Cf. the curious passage in *KSC* I 328.1.3 where it is told how at the death of Śrimitra's admirer Chou I 周顛 (i.e., in 322 AD) the master himself went to visit the orphans, chanted three pieces of "hymns in a foreign language" 胡頌三契, then recited several thousands of words of "spells" in a loud voice, and finally wiped his tears and went away. Identical story in *CSTCC* XIII 99.1.5; shorter version in *Kao-tso pieh-chuan* quoted in *comm. SSHY IA/32a*.

⁹⁹ According to *CSTCC* II 10.1.16 he translated two versions of the *Mahāmāyūri-vidyā-rājñi* entitled *Ta k'ung-ch'üeh-wang shen-chu* 大孔雀王神呪 and *K'ung-ch'üeh-wang tsa shen-chu* 孔雀王雜神呪. Both works were lost at an early date, cf. *KYSCL* III, T. 2154, p. 503.1.5. The *Mahāmāyūri-vidyā-rājñi*, which later became one of the basic texts of Tantrism (cf. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, p. 688, s.v. *Kūjaku myōōgyō no hō* 孔雀明王經法) was very popular in Chinese Buddhism long before the development of Tantrism in China. In the *Taishō-daizōkyō* we find no less than seven translations of this work (T 982-988) executed between the fourth and the eighth century. The earliest non-anonymous and approximately datable version is that made by Kumārajīva (T 988), but it must be noted that this scripture does not figure among Kumārajīva's thirty-five translations listed in *CSTCC* II 10.3-11.1. In later catalogues (*LTSPC*, *KYSCL* etc.) the translation of a third still existing collection of spells, the *Kuan-ting ching* 灌頂經 (T 1331, ?*Mahābhīṣeka-mantra*) is attributed to him. This attribution is almost certainly wrong, cf. below, p. 316-317.

¹⁰⁰ *KSC* I 328.1.12.

¹⁰¹ Cf. *CSTCC* XI 81.2.27 (anonymous colophon); Mi-li's spurious *vinaya*-text is still mentioned in Fa-ching's 法經 *Chung-ching mu-lu* 衆經目錄 of 594 AD: T 2146 ch. V p. 141.1.5.

¹⁰² *SSHY IB/5a*. Cf. also the story of Wang Tao and the clerical Methusalem reported in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XXXVIII 585.3 (source not indicated).

¹⁰³ *CSTCC* XIII 99.1.8: (Wang Tao) 外國正當有君一人而已耳, (Śrimitra) 若使我如諸君今日豈得在此 Somewhat shortened and stylized in *KSC* I 328.1.6 (here translated): (Wang Tao) 外國有君一人而已, (Śrimitra) 我如諸君豈得在此. Another slightly different version in *Ta-T'ang NTL* (T 2149) III 244.3.8.

¹⁰⁴ *KSC* I 328.1.15 sqq. (not in *CSTCC*).

¹⁰⁵ *Pien-cheng lun* (T 2110) III 502.3.15. Fa-lin (*ib.* p. 504.2.8) also enumerates eight kings (enfeoffed near relatives of the emperor) who according to him sponsored Buddhism. Six of these cannot be identified, since Fa-lin simply refers to them as "the king of . . ." without indicating their personal names. The remaining two are Ssu-ma Yu 司馬攸 (248-283 AD, biogr. in *CS* 38.6b-9b) and Ssu-ma Chien 東 (262-291 AD, biogr. *CS* 64.1a), but neither their biographies nor those of other early Ssu-ma kings contain anything which might corroborate Fa-lin's statement.

¹⁰⁶ *KSC* V 354.3.25, cf. *ib.* XIII 410.1.18.

¹⁰⁷ *Pien-cheng lun* (T 2110) III 502.3.16.

¹⁰⁸ *CSTCC* II 11.3.9 and *KSC* II 335.2.29.

¹⁰⁹ *CSTCC* II 11.3.26.

¹¹⁰ *PCNC* I 936.2.13.

¹¹¹ *Fa-yuan chu-lin* (T 2122) XLII 616.2.5; in XXXI 526.2 virtually the same story is given as a quotation from the *Nan-ching ssu-chi* 南齊壽記.

- ¹¹² Allusion to *Chuang-tzu* II (*Ch'i wu-lun*) p. 6.
- ¹¹³ *HMC* XII 76.3.23, cf. *KSC* V (biogr. Tao-an) 352.2.24.
- ¹¹⁴ *Ku-hua p'in-lu*, ed. *Mei-shu ts'ung-shu* III/6 p. 109, trsl. W. Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting* (Leiden 1954), p. 29.
- ¹¹⁵ Chang Yen-yüan 張彥遠, *Li-tai ming-hua chi* 歷代名畫記 (completed 847 AD), ch. V (not in Acker's trsl.), ed. *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* p. 173.
- ¹¹⁶ P'ei Hsiao-yüan 裴孝源, *Chen-kuan kung-ssu hua-shih* 貞觀公私畫史 (mainly a description of the paintings in the former Sui imperial collection, preface dated 639), ed. *Mei-shu ts'ung-shu* II/3 p. 7.
- ¹¹⁷ *CS* 77.7b-8a.
- ¹¹⁸ *I-wen lei-chü* 藝文類聚 63; *CCW* 38.6b.
- ¹¹⁹ According to Fa-lin, emperor Ch'eng also founded two monasteries at the capital (Chung-hsing ssu 中興寺 and Lu-yeh ssu 鹿野寺) where he assembled a hundred (var. a thousand) monks specialized in translation and exegesis (*Pien-cheng lun*, T 2110, III 502.3.18). This Chung-hsing monastery may have been the one at which the *dhyāna*-master Dharmamitra (347-443) stayed during his first visit to the southern capital (ca. 425 AD; *KSC* III 343.1.1). On the other hand we find that (another?) Chung-hsing ssu was completed under emperor Hsiao-wu of the Liu-Sung dynasty (454-465 AD; *CSTCC* XIV 106.1.22, cf. *KYSCL*, T 2154, ch. V p. 529.3.4). A Lu-yeh monastery is, as far as I know, not mentioned before the year 457 (*CSTCC* V 39.1.23, cf. *Ta-T'ang NTL*, T 2149, ch. IV p. 261.1.20, and *Chung-ching mu-lu*, T 2146, ch. IV p. 138.3.25).
- ¹²⁰ *KSC* IV 347.3.24.
- ¹²¹ *ib.* 348.2.24, cf. below, p. 117.
- ¹²² Preserved in *HMC* XII 79.2.12 sqq., and in *Chi sha-men pu-ying pai-su teng-shih* 集沙門不應鉢俗等事 (T 2108) I 443.3.18 sqq. They consist of a short introduction by an unknown compiler, the first memorial sent in by Ho Ch'ung and his partisans, a decree promulgated by Yü Ping (on behalf of the emperor) in answer to this memorial, Ho Ch'ung's second memorial, a second edict issued by Yü Ping, and a third memorial of Ho Ch'ung, altogether six pieces.
- ¹²³ Biography of Ts'ai Mo, *CS* 77.7a-9b.
- ¹²⁴ *KHMC* VI 126.3.7 (section 列代王臣淨感解).
- ¹²⁵ The reading Hsia 契 is the correct one; *HMC* has everywhere 契.
- ¹²⁶ Tzu Mou-yüan 謀遠, biogr. *CS* 77.5b-6b. He was an uncle of Ho Ch'ung's partisan Ch'u P'ou 褚衷 (cf. p. 109).
- ¹²⁷ Tzu Tao-ming 道名, biogr. *CS* 77.11a-12a; cf. *SSHY* IIA/39a and IIB/5a.
- ¹²⁸ *SSHY* IB/19a.
- ¹²⁹ *CS* 77.5a (biogr. Ho Ch'ung).
- ¹³⁰ *Comm. SSHY* IIIB/12b.
- ¹³¹ An anachronism, cf. p. 150.
- ¹³² *SSHY* IIIB/6b.
- ¹³³ *ib.* IIIB/12b. Cf. also the story about Ho Ch'ung's devotion and his frequent visits to Buddhist temples, in the biography of Ku Chung 顧象 (274-346 AD), *CS* 76.11a.
- ¹³⁴ *CS* 93.5b.
- ¹³⁵ *PCNC* I 935.3.16.
- ¹³⁶ *PCNC* I 936.1.6.
- ¹³⁷ *PCNC* I 935.3.28.
- ¹³⁸ *KSC* IV 350.1.19. In 361 emperor Mu was dying, and Fa-k'ai was summoned to cure him, but "as soon as (Yü Fa-)k'ai had observed his pulse, he knew that (the emperor) would not rise any more, and he did not want to go in again" (in accordance with the general practice to abandon incurable patients, cf. *Hōbōgirin* s.v. *byō* 病 p. 232.1 and P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, p. 401, note 3). The enraged empress issued an edict, saying "As soon as the emperor was slightly

unwell, we have called master Yü to investigate his pulse, but he went only as far as the door and did not proceed, with all kinds of cowardly excuses; he shall be arrested and delivered to the commander of the police". Then the emperor died indeed, and Yü Fa-k'ai escaped with a whole skin; he retired to the Shih-ch'eng shan 石城山 in the Shan mountains (Chekiang).

¹³⁹ PCNC I 936.1.23. According to his biography, Seng-chi lived from 330 to 397 AD, but we can hardly assume that the monastery was founded for a fifteen years old novice. There must be a mistake somewhere: either Seng-chi was born earlier, or the monastery was founded later than 345, or it was not founded for this nun.

¹⁴⁰ KSC VII 366.3.6.

¹⁴¹ KSC VII 367.1.1. However, the change of the name may have happened some time before 430. According to CSTCC III 21.1.28 (= *Ta-T'ang NTL*, T 2149, IV 257.3.16), Buddhajiva translated the (?) *Mahisāsakavinaya* (T 1421) "at the Lungkuang monastery" in 423-424 AD.

¹⁴² *Pien-cheng lun* (T 2110) III 502.3.18.

¹⁴³ CS 32.3b = TCTC 103.1215; TPLYL 99.4b quoting the *Hsü Chin yang-ch'iu*.

¹⁴⁴ *Chien-k'ang shih-lu* quoted by T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 349.

¹⁴⁵ The Huan came from Lung-k'ang 龍亢, the modern Huai-yüan 懷遠 in Anhui. The family claimed to descend from Huan Jung 桓榮, a magistrate of the Later Han (CS 74.1a, biogr. of Huan I 舜), but this tradition seems very unreliable. In fact, nothing is known about the eight generations between this Huan Jung and Huan Ying 穎 (or Hao 穎, cf. above, note 71), the father of Huan I. When Huan Hsüan in 402 had usurped the throne, he was unable to fill his imperial ancestral temple with the required number of tablets for the *manes* "because the names and ranks of those (ancestors) from before his great-grandfather were not illustrious" (CS 99.8a, biogr. of Huan Hsüan).

¹⁴⁶ CS 73.12b (biogr. of Yü I 翼), cf. TCTC 97.1146A.

¹⁴⁷ In 371, and again in 372 after an attempt of the Yü to regain their power, CS 73.9b (biogr. Yü Hsi 希).

¹⁴⁸ CS 98.11a (biogr. of Huan Wen).

¹⁴⁹ CS *ib.*; TCTC 99.1175 A.

¹⁵⁰ For a detailed account of this famous battle see Li Chi-p'ing 李季平, *Fei-shui chih chan* 淝水之戰, Shanghai 1955.

¹⁵¹ KSC IV (biogr. of Chih Tun) 348.2.10: Chih Tun characterized by Wang Meng as 造微之功不減輔嗣 (*i.e.*, Wang Pi); *id.* in SSHY IIB 12a-b; *comm. ib.* quoting *Chih Tun pieh-chuan* 支遁別傳 (cf. note 154): 王仲祖 (*i.e.*, Wang Meng) 稱其造微之功不異王弼. In the same way the monks in the audience of Chih Tun are qualified by Wang Meng as "Wang Pi and Ho Yen behind the alms-bowls" 舒舒復王何人也, SSHY *comm.* IIB 13b-14a quoting *Kao-i sha-men chuan* (cf. note 289); somewhat different version in KSC IV 349.1.4.

¹⁵² *Comm.* SSHY IIB 22a quoting 支遁傳 = KSC IV 348.2.16. But according to SSHY IIB 22a, Hsieh An himself absolutely denied ever to have spoken such words, and declared that P'ei Ch'i 裴啓 (the author of the *Yü-lin* 語林, a now lost collection of anecdotes like the SSHY, completed in 362 AD) had invented the story. The ideal of a cursory way of reading the classics without detailed philological studies (章句) was much en vogue in the fourth century; it agreed with the prevailing *hsüan-hsüeh* opinion that the written text is only an imperfect and expedient expression of the hidden wisdom of the Sage, and that the student must try to grasp the general principles 理 underlying the words rather than indulge in a careful and painstaking study of the letter of the text. For this custom cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *Wei-Chin hsüan-hsüeh lun-kao*, p. 30-31.

¹⁵³ Thus among the persons mentioned here as friends during his first stay at the capital (ca. 340 AD) we find Hsi Ch'ao 郝超 (born 336) and Wang T'an-chih 王坦之 (born 330), which is obviously impossible. In the same way it is said in

Chu Tao-ch'ien's biography (KSC IV 348.1.6) that Ho Ch'ung conversed with Chu Tao-ch'ien during the reign of emperor Ai (362-366), *i.e.*, at least seventeen years after Ho Ch'ung's death.

¹⁵⁴ In the case of Chih Tun, the *SSHY* is at least as important as the *KSC* as a source of biographical information. Among the 28 short episodes in which his biography in *KSC* (IV 348.2.8-349.3.20) can be divided, there are only eight which do not figure in the *SSHY* or in the works quoted in the *SSHY* commentary. On the other hand, the *SSHY* contains no less than 82 passages dealing with or mentioning Chih Tun, and most of these have no counterpart in the *KSC* biography. Sources quoted in the *SSHY comm.* are *Chih Tun pieh-chuan* 支遁別傳 (*comm.* IIB/11a; IIB/12a-b); *Chih Tun chuan* 支遁傳 (IIB/33a; IIIA/11a-b; *ib.* 12a; *ib.* 22a) and *Chih Fa-shih chuan* 支法師傳 (IB/20a); one of these works is probably identical with the biography of Chih Tun written by Hsi Ch'ao after the master's death (cf. *KSC* IV 349.3.7). Furthermore we find quotations from the *Kao-i sha-men chuan* 高逸沙門傳 (IA/38b-39a; IB/21a-8b; *ib.* 21b; *ib.* 22a; IIA/32a-b; IIB/13b-14a; IIIB/8a), from the *Yü-lin* 語林 (IB/22a; IIIA/5b-6a; IIIB/21b), and some fragments of Chih Tun's own writings (IA/42b; IB/18b-19a; *ib.* 19b). T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 177-181.

¹⁵⁵ *KHMC* XXX 350.1.17.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 178.

¹⁵⁷ First in the Wo-chou 汝州 mountains (E. of Hsin-ch'ang 新昌, Chekiang), where he wrote an "Inscription to the Right of (the Teacher's) Seat" 座右銘 in order to admonish and stimulate his hundreds of disciples (text in *KSC* IV 348.3.10 sq.); later at the Shih-ch'eng shan 石城山 where he founded the Ch'i-kuang ssu 權光寺. According to his biography it was here that he wrote his most important works (*ib.* 348.3.21).

¹⁵⁸ *The Chien-k'ang shih-lu* 建康實錄 as quoted in *TPYL* 653.7a says that Hsü Hsün had changed his two mansions at Shan-yin and at Yung-hsing 永興 into monasteries; both were large and splendid buildings (a fact which strangely contrasts with Hsü Hsün's "poverty" as a recluse, reported elsewhere!). When the re-building had been finished, he officially reported this feat to emperor Hsiao-wu (reigned 373-397). I have not been able to consult the still existing but rare *Chien-k'ang shih-lu* (by Hsü Sung 許嵩, in 30 ch.) itself.

¹⁵⁹ *SSHY* IIB/15b: 王敬人是超悟人. For the expression *ch'ao-wu* cf. the words spoken to Kumārajīva by the Tibetan ruler Yao Hsing (*KSC* II 332.2.11): 大師聰明超悟天下莫二…… Wang Hsiu was the son of Wang Meng, an able calligrapher and *ch'ing-t'an* specialist in spite of his youth; he died at the age of 23. (*CS* 93.6b). Connections with Buddhism: *SSHY* IB/20b-21a where he holds a heated debate with Hsü Hsün at the "Western Monastery" 西寺 at K'uai-chi, Chih Tun acting as a host, and *SSHY* IB/26a-b where he discusses the well-known *hsüan-hsüeh* problem whether "the Saint has emotions or not" 聖人有情不 with a certain monk Seng-i 僧惠 (elsewhere unknown) at the Wa-kuan ssu at Chienk'ang.

¹⁶⁰ *SSHY* IIB/16b.

¹⁶¹ *ib.* 32a.

¹⁶² *ib.* 11a.

¹⁶³ *SSHY* IA/38b-39a; *KSC* IV 348.2.23.

¹⁶⁴ *SSHY* IA/42b; *KSC* IV 348.2.25.

¹⁶⁵ Chih Tun describes the Ch'ang-shan 長山 at Tung-yang 東陽 in a few words (*SSHY* IA/45a); characterizes the essential difference between Northern and Southern scholarship by means of a clever metaphor (IB/17a); funny remark about his endless conversation with Hsieh I 謝奕 (IB/21b); *id.* about playing chess (IIIA/34a); ridicules Wang T'an-chih 王坦之 (IIIB/21b); pungent remark about Wang Hui-chih and Wang Hsien-chih 王徽之, 王獻之 (IIIB/23b); puts Wang Meng in his place (IB/21b, cf. IIB/11b and *KSC* IV 349.1.2).

¹⁶⁶ For the term *tu-chiang* cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 117.

¹⁶⁷ *SSHY* IB/21a-b; *KSC* IV 348.3.25.

¹⁶⁸ *SSHY* IB/20a-b; cf. *KSC loc.cit.* where this passage has become mixed up with the one translated above. The unknown disciple of Chih Tun who wrote the preface to the commentary on the *Śūramgamasamādhisūtra* (cf. below, p. 140) speaks also about "the Three Vehicles" 三乘 as one of the basic subjects of Chih Tun's teachings. Perhaps something more can be known about it. The *SSHY comm. ibid.* gives a rather long discussion about the difference between the three *yāna*, quoted, as the *Comm.* says, from the "Lotus sūtra" 法華經. This is, however, certainly not the source of the question; it is obviously a fragment of some early treatise or commentary written by a Chinese, and the fact that it figures here might indicate that it was written by Chih Tun himself. The first words 法華經曰 could of course easily be a mistake for 法華註曰 or 法華(經)論曰. Now we find in the table of contents of Lu Ch'eng's *Fa-lun* (*CSTCC* XII 83.1.4 sqq.) a list of works of Chih Tun (cf. below, note 213), and among these a "Discussion of the Three Vehicles" 辯三乘論 (*ib.* 83.3.12). Moreover, this work is immediately preceded by a *Fa-hua ching lun*, without author's name, but followed by a continuous series of five works by Chih Tun. It seems probable that the fragment quoted in the *SSHY comm.* was part of one of these treatises. Doctrinally, the fragment is not very interesting; it is mainly an attempt to define the meaning of the terms 聲聞 (*śrāvaka*), 緣覺 (*pratyekabuddha*) and 菩薩 (*bodhisattva*). A somewhat more detailed and interesting description of the Three Vehicles can be found in the preface to a commentary on the *An-pan shou-i ching* by the contemporary Buddhist scholar Hsieh Fu 謝敷 who also belonged to the circle of Chih Tun (cf. below, p. 136 and note 283): *CSTCC* VI 44.1.14 sqq. For the speculations about the Three Vehicles and the stages of the Bodhisattva career in early Chinese Buddhism see Ōchō Enichi 横超慧日 in *Jōron Kenkyū*, p. 184-186.

¹⁶⁹ The relation between "talents" 才 and "(human) Nature" 性, about which four different views (四本) existed, was one of the most important themes of discussion and speculation in the third century; in the fourth century it still formed, in a more abstract and theoretical way, one of the most fashionable topics of *ch'ing-t'an* (cf. *SSHY* IB/19b; *ib.* 23b-24a; *ib.* 27a). See T'ang Ch'ang-ju, *op.cit.*, p. 298-310 and D. Holzman, *La vie et la pensée de Hi K'ang*, p. 8-9.

¹⁷⁰ *SSHY* IB/23b-24a.

¹⁷¹ The title of ch. XXXI of the *Chuang-tzu*.

¹⁷² *SSHY* IB 25a-b.

¹⁷³ *ib.* IB/20b-21a.

¹⁷⁴ *SSHY* IB/22a-b and IIIB/12b-13a.

¹⁷⁵ *Yü-lin* 語林 quoted in *comm. SSHY* IIIA/5b-6a.

¹⁷⁶ 七尺之軀, lit. "(my) body of seven feet" (in Han times the foot was only ca. 23 cm.); the expression occurs for the first time in *Hsün-tzu* ch. I p. 7-8.

¹⁷⁷ *SSHY* IIIB/11a.

¹⁷⁸ *ib.* 23b.

¹⁷⁹ 縑布單衣; I have not been able to find the meaning of the character 縑 in any dictionary.

¹⁸⁰ 鄭康成, i.e., the famous Confucian scholar and exegete Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 (127-200 AD).

¹⁸¹ *SSHY* IIIB/21b, and *comm. ib.* quoting the *Yü-lin* 語林; here the words mentioned in note 179 do not occur.

¹⁸² *SSHY* IIIB/22b.

¹⁸³ *SSHY* IIB/32b.

¹⁸⁴ *Fei Chuang lun* 廢莊論, quoted in his biography, *CS* 75.4a-5a.

¹⁸⁵ *SSHY* IB/18b-19a.

¹⁸⁶ *SSHY* IB/20a; *KSC* IV 348.3.4.

¹⁸⁷ CS 80.4a.

¹⁸⁸ CS *ib.*

¹⁸⁹ *The Lan-t'ing chi hsü*, a typical *hsüan-hsüeh* product with the transitoriness of all feelings and emotions as its central theme, has been reproduced in Wang Hsi-chih's biography (CS 80.4a-b); a condensed and somewhat different version is quoted in the *SSHY comm.* (IIIA/8b) under the title *Lin-ho hsü* 臨河序. The CS version is the one which is found in all *ku-wen* collections. Translations: Zottoli, *Cursus litteraturae Sinicae* (Shanghai 1880), vol. IV, p. 295-297; W. Grube, *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur*, p. 253-254; G. Margouliès, *Le kou-wen chinois* (Paris 1926), p. 126-128.

¹⁹⁰ KSC IV 349.1.2.

¹⁹¹ KSC IV 349.1.12 sqq.

¹⁹² As a priest, Chih Tun has or claims to have the privilege to use his personal name (*ming*) when addressing the emperor, instead of saying "your subject" 臣, as all other people with very rare exceptions were obliged to do. This habit of "not calling oneself 'subject'" 不稱臣 symbolizes the independent and un-worldly position of the monk in his relation with the temporal authorities.

¹⁹³ 彫淳 "to carve purity" (*i.e.*, to make ornaments, to adorn what is originally pure and simple?) does not make sense, especially not as a parallel to the following 反朴 "to revert to simplicity". The text is probably corrupt.

¹⁹⁴ 內聖外王 "Saintliness within and kingliness without", the ideal of the ruler who, whilst inwardly endowed with the highest wisdom of the Sage, at the same time exerts the "transforming influence" of perfect government in the outside world. Cf. *Chuang-tzu* ch. XXXIII (天下), p. 216, and Kuo Hsiang in his preface to the *Chuang-tzu comm.*; cf. Fung Yu-lan/Bodde, vol. II, p. 172-173.

¹⁹⁵ KSC IV 348.2.25 (quoting a letter by Hsieh An in which he tries to persuade Chih Tun not to leave him and to go to the Shan region) *ib.* 349.3.1 (at the end of his life Chih Tun cherishes the memory of their friendship); *SSHY* IB/25a-b (they are together present at a *ch'ing-t'an* meeting at Wang Meng's home); *SSHY* IIB/32b-33a cf. KSC IV 349.1.6, *SSHY* IIB/33b, 34b, 36a (Hsieh An "characterizes" Chih Tun).

¹⁹⁶ Apparently an illusion to *Tso-chuan*, 27th year of duke Hsiang (*chu-shu* ed. 38.12a): 其祀陳信於鬼神無愧辭 (Couvreur vol. II p. 488). According to K'ung Ying-ta's commentary, this phrase must be interpreted as "His (*i.e.*, Fan Wu's) liturgists explain the truth (in their eulogies about his conduct) to the spirits, and (in their prayers) there are no words for which he (Fan Wu) must be ashamed". Chih Tun writes 去陳信之妖誣, which as far as I can see only can be translated as "to remove the evil imprecations of Ch'en Hsin". It follows that Chih Tun regarded 陳信 as a proper name, and that he interpreted the *Tso-chuan* passage as "(but) his liturgist Ch'en Hsin (speaks) shameless words to the spirits". This may be an example of Chih Tun's "cursory way of studying the scriptures" (above, note 152)!

¹⁹⁷ Cf. *Lun-yü* VII.34: 子曰丘之禱久矣。

¹⁹⁸ Cf. *Tao te ching* 39: 神得一以靈...王侯得一以為天下貞。

¹⁹⁹ 圓丘, var. 圓壇, was the round altar on which the emperor performed the sacrifice to Heaven at the time of the winter solstice, cf. *Kuang-ya*, section 釋天。

²⁰⁰ 元亨 cf. the first words of the *I-ching* (hexagram *ch'ien*): 乾元亨利貞. *Ch'ien*, the pure *yang* hexagram which stands for power and supreme authority is here used as a symbol for the renewed glory of the Chin dynasty.

²⁰¹ KSC IX 385.1.16; trsl. A. F. Wright, *HJAS* XI (1948), p. 351.

²⁰² KSC IX 385.2.13; the translation given here is that of A. F. Wright, p. 352.

²⁰³ KSC III 431.1.1 sqq. See also P. Demiéville, "Le Bouddhisme et la Guerre" in *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises* I (1957), p. 347-385.

²⁰⁴ Cf. *Tao-te ching* ch. 35: 執大象天下往。

²⁰⁵ *Lun-yü* XVII.19: 天何言哉四時行焉。

²⁰⁶ KSC IV 349.2.20 has 餞; SSHY has 送 “saw him off”).

²⁰⁷ For this pavillion see *comm. SSHY* IIA/32a-b.

²⁰⁸ SSHY *loc.cit.*; KSC IV 349.2.19.

²⁰⁹ KSC IV 349.2.22.

²¹⁰ For the problem of the place of his death see below, note 212.

²¹¹ KSC IV 349.3.8.

²¹² SSHY IIIA/12a = KSC IV 349.3.12. Analogous words in the “Preface to a Poem written at the Grave of the Master of the Doctrine” 法師墓下詩序 by Wang Hsün 王詢 (a grandson of Wang Tao, lived 350-401) who visited Chih Tun’s grave in 374 (quoted in the *comm. SSHY, loc.cit.*). According to the KSC, there were different traditions concerning the place where Chih Tun had died. Hui-chiao himself agreed with those who located his grave at the Wu-shan 鳩山 near Yü-yao 餘姚 in K’uai-chi; according to others he died at Shan 剡, which is also the opinion of the “Biography of Chih Tun” quoted in *comm. SSHY* IIIA/12a. The latter opinion is corroborated by Wang Hsün’s words in his preface (written only eight years after Chih Tun’s death): “I went to Mt. Shih-ch’eng in Shan; here is the grave-mound of the Master of the Doctrine . . .”.

²¹³ KSC IV 349.3.18 mentions the “Collected Works of Chih Tun” in ten *chüan*; the (*Sha-men*) *Chih Tun chi* still figures in the bibliographical sections of the *Sui-shu* and both *T’ang-shu*. *Sui-shu* 35.5b: “in eight *chüan*”, with the remark: “according to the Liang (catalogue, probably that of Juan Hsiao-hsü 阮孝緒, 523 AD) in thirteen *chüan*”. Both *T’ang-shu* bibliographies have 10 as the number of *chüan*, like KSC (《唐書籍藝文合志》p. 337). Chih Tun’s collected works no doubt contained all those treatises, poems and fragments which we now find in collections like *HMC* and *KHMC* or as quotations dispersed in KSC, the *SSHY comm.* and other works. All existing fragments have been collected by Yen K’o-chün (*CCW* 157.3b-15a). Hsü Kan’s 徐幹 edition of the surviving fragments in his *Hsü-shih ts’ung-shu* 徐幹叢書, published in 1886 and 1888 (mentioned by A. F. Wright in *HJAS* XI, 1948, p. 326 note 16) was not accessible to me. An anonymous Ming manuscript copy of “collected works of Chih Tun”, formerly in the National Library, Peking (Library of Congress microfilm 500/592-618) is incomplete and very inaccurate. When in the third quarter of the fifth century Lu Ch’eng compiled his huge collection of Buddhist Chinese literature, the *Fa-lun* 法論, he included eighteen treatises and letters of a doctrinal nature selected from Chih Tun’s works. The titles are as follows (*CSTCC* XII 83.1.4 sqq.):

- (1) “On wandering in the Mystery (by realizing) the identity (of Emptiness) with Matter” 卽色遊玄論 (followed by a letter of Wang Ch’ia, cf. below, p. 134, and an answer by Chih Tun). The “Essay on Mysterious Contemplation, from Chih Tao-lin’s Collected Works” 支道林集妙觀章 quoted in *comm. SSHY* IB/19b seems not to have been the same work (cf. T’ang Yung-t’ung, *History*, p. 259).
- (2) “A discussion of the Fetters” 辯著論.
- (3) “An explanation of the Theory of Fundamental Non-being being identical with Matter” 釋卽色本無義 (followed by a letter by a certain Wang Yu-kung 王幼恭 and Chih Tun’s reply. I have not been able to trace Wang Yu-kung’s identity; perhaps it is a mistake for Wang Kung 王恭, a grandson of Wang Meng, who died in 398 and who acc. to *SSHY* IIB/34b and 36a knew Chih Tun personally).
- (4) Letter to Chih Tun by Hsi (Ch’ao) 郗與支法師書, and
- (5) Letter to Hsi Ch’ao by Chih Tun 支書與郗嘉賓.
- (6) “Guide to the *Tao-hsing* (*ching*)” 道行指歸 with questions by “Ho Ching” 何敬, and answer by Chih Tun. Ho Ching seems to be an error for Ching-ho 敬和, i.e., Wang Ch’ia, who in his letter (cf. below, p. 134) indeed speaks about this treatise and the master’s elucidations.

- (7) "On the Lotus Sūtra" 法華經論 (no author's name, but probably also by Chih Tun, cf. above, note 168).
- (8) "A discussion of the Three Vehicles" 辯三乘論.
- (9) "(Exhortative) Inscription to the Right of the (Teacher's) Seat" 坐右銘 cf. above, note 157; text preserved in *KSC* IV 348.3.10 sqq.
- (10) "An exhortation to study the Way" 道學誡.
- (11) "Essay on (?) the Urgency of Understanding" 切悟章, written ca. 365 at the death of his friend Fa-ch'ien 法度, cf. below, p. 140.
- (12) Answer by Chih Tun to Hsieh Ch'ang-hsia 謝長遐 (identity unknown).
- (13) "Preface to the Collected Discussions held by the Monks of the Prajñā Terrace (Monastery?) concerning the (monastic) Rules and Regulations" 般若臺眾僧集議節度序 (subject matter unknown; apparently some documents relating to a discussion of the *Vinaya* rules attended or presided by Chih Tun).
- (14) "Preface and commentary on the Four (stages of) Trance (as described in the *Pen-ch'i (ching)*" 本起四禪序并注. Probably an explanation of the passage dealing with the four *dhyāna* stages either of the *Hsiu-hsing pen-ch'i ching* 修行本起經 (T 184 ch. II, Kyōto ed. XIV. 3 p. 231. A1) or of the *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching* 太子瑞應本起經 (T 185 ch. I, Kyōto ed. *ib.* p. 237. A.1), the same passage(s) which formed the source of Chih Tun's summary description of *ānāpāna* in his description of Śākyamuni's life, cf. Appendix III p. 178 and *ib.* note 151.
- (15) "Outline of and examples (drawn from) the *Pen-yeh (ching)*" 本業略例. Note that the title of this treatise is strikingly similar to Wang Pi's famous *Chou-i lüeh-li* 周易略例. The scripture in question may have been Chih Ch'ien's *P'u-sa pen-yeh ching* 菩薩本業經 (T 281), or else the somewhat later version by Nieh Tao-chen, *Chu p'u-sa ch'iu fo pen-yeh ching* 諸菩薩求佛本業經 (T 282).
- (16) "Preface to a commentary on the *Pen-yeh ching*" 本業經注序.
- (17) "Eulogy on a portrait of Dharmarakṣa" 支 (*sic!*) 法通像讚. Some lines of this eulogy are quoted in *KSC* I 326.3.21 (biogr. Dharmarakṣa).
- (18) "Letter to a Korean Monk" 與高[句]驪道人書 (quoted in *KSC* and *SSHY comm.*, cf. below, note 301).
Chih Tun's biography in *KSC* mentions furthermore:
- (19) "On the Saint not having Discursive Knowledge" 聖不辯智論, also mentioned in T 2149 (*Ta-T'ang NTL*) III 244.3.25 (智 here written 知);
- (20) "To solve what is obscure" 釋隱論, also mentioned in T 2149 *ib.*
- (21) "Commentary on the *An-pan (shou-i) ching*" 安般經注.
- (22) Chih Tun's memorial of 365 AD, cf. above, p. 120 sqq.
Of these works only two have been completely preserved (nr. 9 and 22); of five more some fragments are known (the two treatises mentioned *sub* 1; furthermore nrs. 7 or 8, 17 and 18). In addition, we have fragments or the complete text of the following works, not listed by Lu Ch'eng or in Chih Tun's biography:
- (23) Eulogy on a Portrait of Yü Fa-lan 于法蘭 (quoted in Yü Fa-lan's biography, *KSC* IV 350.1.8).
- (24) Inscription 銘 on a portrait of Yü Tao-sui 于道遂 (quoted *ib.* 350.2.22).
- (25) "On the meaning of (the chapter of *Chuang-tzu* entitled) *Hsiao-yao (yu)*" 逍遙論 (quoted in *SSHY comm.* IB/19a).
- (26) "Preface to a synoptic extract of the Larger and Smaller Versions (of the *Prajñāpāramitā*)" 大小品對比聖妙序 (preserved in *CSTCC* VIII 55.1-56.3, cf. below, p. 124 sqq.).
- (27) "Eulogy on an image of the Buddha Śākyamuni, with preface" 釋迦文佛像讚并序, *id.* on an image of Amitābha, and eulogies on Mañjuśrī,

Maitreya, Vimalakīrti and other Bodhisattvas; in total thirteen poems, in *KHMC XV* 195.3-196.2.

- (28) Several groups of miscellaneous poems on the Buddha's birth-day, on fasting, on living in the mountains, on a painting of a *dhyāna*-master in trance etc., in total seventeen poems, in *KHMC XXX* 349.2-351.2.
- (29) "Inscription on the T'ien-t'ai mountain" 天台山銘, short fragment of its preface quoted in Li Shan's 季善 commentary on Sun Ch'o's 孫綽 *Yu T'ien-t'ai shan fu* 遊天台山賦 in *Wen-hsüan XI* (ed. *Wan-yu wen-k'u* p. 224).

The so-called "Letter of Chih Tao-lin to Huan Hsüan about the provincial registration of the clergy" in *HMC XII* 85.3 is dated 399 AD and consequently cannot have been written by Chih Tun, cf. above, p. 16 nr. 14, and ch. IV, note 177.

Finally we may mention the fact that in some minor Buddhist bibliographies the translation of two scriptures (阿闍佛刹諸菩薩學成記 and 方等法華經) is attributed to Chih Tao-lin (Chih Tun): T 2151 (古今譯經圖記) II 356.1.7, and all editions except the Korean one of T 2153 (大周刊定眾經目錄) II 385.3.1 and IV 392.2.14. Here Chih Tao-lin 支道林 is clearly a mistake for Chih Tao-ken 支道根, a further unknown monk who according to T 2149 (*Ta-T'ang NTL*) III 244.3.13 translated these works in the period 326-343. Both scriptures had already been lost at the time of the compilation of T 2154 (*K'ai-yüan SCL*, 730 AD), cf. *ib.* XIV 626.3.19 and 628.3.27.

²¹⁴ *Miao-kuan chang* 妙觀章 (cf. previous note, nr. (1) quoted in *comm. SSHY IB/19b*). For Chih Tun's theory see in more detail T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 254-263; W. Liebenthal, *The Book of Chao* p. 152-157; *Fung Yu-lan/Bodde* vol. II, p. 248-252.

²¹⁵ 即色是空,非色滅空. This is a paraphrase of a passage of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* (version of Chih Ch'ien, T 474 ch. II p. 531.2.7) "The Bodhisattva Priyadarśana said (to Vimalakīrti, when asked to define the nature of non-duality 不二): 'The world is just (identical with) emptiness; (consciously) to make it so forms a duality. Matter is emptiness: it is not so that matter (must be) destroyed (to reach) emptiness, but the very nature of matter is emptiness. (The same may be said of the other *skandhas*; thus) knowing (識, *vijñāna*, Consciousness) is emptiness: it is not so that knowing (must) be destroyed (to reach) emptiness, but the very nature of knowing is emptiness. This realization of the (true) nature of the five dark(ening) elements (五陰, *skandha*) constitutes the way leading to (入 "entrance" = *dharmamukha*) non-duality". The words used here for "matter is emptiness . . ." etc. are 色空不色敗空. It is interesting to note that in the corresponding passage in Kumārajīva's version (T 475 II 551.1.1) this phrase runs as follows: 色即是空,非色滅空, which is practically identical with Chih Tun's own formulation. Kumārajīva's Chinese collaborators and redactors of his translations—people who, like Seng-chao, must have been fully conversant with the writings of the Chinese Buddhist exegetes of their times—may have been responsible for this rendering.

²¹⁶ 色不自色: I follow T'ang Yung-t'ung's reading (*History*, p. 259) who adds the three characters 不自色 in accordance with the first sentence of the first fragment translated above.

²¹⁷ *Miao-kuan chang* 妙觀章 quoted in Hui-ta's 惠達 *Chao-lun shu* 肇論疏 (second half sixth century), *Suppl. Kyōto* II.1.1 p. 53 B2.

²¹⁸ The standpoint of the adherents of this theory as formulated by Seng-chao in *Chao-lun* 肇論 (section 不真空論), T 1858 p. 152.1; Liebenthal, *The Book of Chao*, p. 58-59; *Jōron Kenkyū*, p. 15.

²¹⁹ *Chuang-tzu comm.* VII 27a; cf. above, p. 92.

²²⁰ *Chao-lun*, *loc.cit.*: 此真語 (read, with Yüan-k'ang's comm., 悟) 色不自色, 未領色之非色也, and Yüan-k'ang's remarks to this passage (*Chao-lun shu* ch. I, T 1859, p. 171.3).

²²¹ *CSTCC VIII* 55.1-56.3.

²²² Cf. *Tao te ching* ch. I: 玄之又玄, 衆妙之門.

²²³ CSTCC VIII 55.1.14.

²²⁴ The text has 十位之稱與乎未足定孰般若之智生乎教迹之名; in view of the parallelism, 定 is obviously a mistake for 之.

²²⁵ 名生於彼, lit. "that one", "the other" as opposed to "this one" 是 or "I" 我, the subject. Cf. *Chuang-tzu* ch. II (齊物論), p. 8: 非彼無我, 非我無所取, and *ib.* p. 10: 是亦彼也, 彼亦是也……果且有彼是乎哉, 果且無彼是乎哉, 彼是莫得其偶, 謂之道樞

²²⁶ Cf. *Chuang-tzu*, *ib.* p. 10: 物固有所然, 物固有所可, 無物不然, 無物不可.

²²⁷ CSTCC VIII 55.1.24.

²²⁸ *ib.* 55.1.29.

²²⁹ *ib.* 55.2.3.

²³⁰ For the evolution of this term cf. P. Demiéville, "La pénétration du Bouddhisme dans la tradition philosophique chinoise", in *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, vol. III, no. 1 (Neuchatel 1956), esp. p. 28 sqq.

²³¹ CSTCC VIII 55.2.22.

²³² *ib.* 56.1.2.

²³³ *ib.* 55.3.20.

²³⁴ *ib.* 55.2.9.

²³⁵ In his 善思菩薩讚, *KHMC* XV 197.1.29.

²³⁶ *Yü Tao lun* 俞道論, *HMC* III 16.2.18.

²³⁷ Wang Pi in his commentary ad *TTC* XIV and *TTC* VI, translated above, p. 89.

²³⁸ Biography to Chih Tun, *KSC* IV 348.3.22 (not mentioned elsewhere).

²³⁹ *HMC* XIII 89.1.21, cf. below, Appendix B p. 175).

²⁴⁰ *KHMC* XV 197.2.1 (善思菩薩讚).

²⁴¹ *ib.* 196.2.28.

²⁴² Most editions have 五味, which makes no sense to me. I read, with the Palace edition, 五味 "the five tastes", to be interpreted not in the Buddhist sense (*pañcarasa*, cf. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, p. 1299b), but rather as in *Tao te ching* XII (五味令人爽), standing for sensual pleasure.

²⁴³ 阿彌陀經; probably Chih Ch'ien's version of the *Sukhāvativyūha*, T 362.

²⁴⁴ *KHMC* XV 196.3.9.

²⁴⁵ According to the very unreliable *Ming-hsiang chi* 冥祥記 by Wang Yen 王琰 (late fifth century), quoted in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* (T 2122) ch. XLII, p. 616.2.15, Wei Shih-tu, his master Chüeh Kung-tse 闕公則 (elsewhere unknown) and his mother should all have been Amitābha devotees. The *KSC* (I 327.3.7) does not mention this. In any case, scriptures wholly or partially devoted to the cult and the "visualization" of Amitābha and his paradise existed in China since the late second century (cf. Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本喜隆, *Shina bukkyōshi kenkyū* 支那佛教史研究, *Hoku-Gi hen* 北魏篇, Tōkyō 1942, p. 619 sqq.).

²⁴⁶ *KSC* VI 358.3.21, wrongly described as taking place at Ch'angan, cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 217-218.

²⁴⁷ CSTCC XV 109.3.16; *KSC* VI 358.2.12.

²⁴⁸ *KSC* IV 348.2.21. The gist of Chih Tun's exegesis of the *Hsiao-yao* chapter may be found in the long quotation from his *Hsiao-yao lun* preserved in the commentary of *SSHY* IB/18b-19a; this exposition of his ideas may have been one by which he won Wang Hsi-chih's friendship and admiration (*ib.* 20a). It is not identical with his "commentary to the *Hsiao-yao* chapter", for which see next note. It was on account of Chih Tun's mastery in explaining *Chuang-tzu* that Sun Ch'ō in his *Tao-hsien lun* 道賢論 compared him with Hsiang Hsiu (quoted in *comm.* *SSHY* IB/20a and *KSC* IV 349.3.8). For Chih Tun's exegesis of this chapter and his relation to Hsiang Hsiu and Kuo Hsiang see Ch'en Yin-k'ō 陳寅恪, "Hsiao-yao yu Hsiang-Kuo i chi Chih Tun i t'an-yüan" 道遠游向郭義及支遁義探源, in *Ch'ing-hua hsüeh-pao* XIII.2 (1937), and Hou Wai-lu and others, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 260-262.

²⁴⁰ *Ssu-pu pei-yao* ed. I.2a (支通云。謂有劫埵形也); 2b (支通云。槍突也); 3a (支通云。冢間也); 3b (支通云。一名齊英。朝生暮落); 4b (雀。支云。成也); 5a (支云。天地四時之氣); 9b (支云。何彼。急歎)。To judge from these little fragments, Chih Tun's commentary was not only philosophical, but also philological, explaining the meaning of individual words and expressions.

²⁵⁰ *SSHY* IB/22a. A tentative translation of this passage: "According to the Buddhist scriptures, Saintliness can be effected by spiritual purification. (On account of this) Chien-wen said: '(Only) those who are free from (conscious) knowledge may reach the highest summits, but in (all) other cases the work of self-cultivation still cannot be regarded as devoid (of reality)'."

²⁵¹ *KHMC* XV 195.3.11-196.2.3.

²⁵² First section of the *Mou-tzu*, *HMC* I 1.3.2-2.1.1 (trsl. Pelliot, *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 289 sqq.); last section of Sun Ch'o's *Yü Tao lun*, *HMC* III 17.2.24-17.3.13.

²⁵³ Huan Wen once "characterized" Śrīmitra (*SSHY* II B/5a, cf. *KSC* I 327.3.15). According to a probably apocryphal story in *Ming-hsiang chi* (quoted in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XXXIII 545.1.22; much shorter version in his biography *CS* 98.14a), he became a devout Buddhist in the last years of his life and entertained a nun who by means of a miraculous sign warned him to abandon his plans to rebel and to usurp the throne.

²⁵⁴ *SSHY* IB/22a, which adds that the copy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* used by Yin Hao still existed at Liu I-ch'ing's time, in the first half of the fifth century. The story as told in the *comm. SSHY* *ib.*, quoting the *Kao-i sha-men chuan* (for which see p. 138) is substantially the same: Yin Hao wanted to discuss the obscure passages with Chih Tun, but he (Yin Hao) hesitated and lingered and never realized his design. "Such was the way in which he (Chih Tun) was esteemed by (gentlemen of) fame and knowledge". But in the *Yü-lin* 語林 by P'ei Ch'i 裴榮 (completed 362 AD, quoted *ib.*; for the date cf. *comm. SSHY* IIB/22b) the story is quite different, and much less flattering for Chih Tun. According to this version, Yin Hao had sent an invitation to Chih Tun to come and explain the passages in question. Chih Tun wanted to go, but was held back by Wang Hsi-chih who said: "Yüan-yüan's (*i.e.*, Yin Hao's) ideas are profound and abundant; in this, he is not likely to be matched. Moreover, if he does not understand something, this does not necessarily mean that Your Reverence is able to explain it. Even if you could still overpower him (by your arguments), it would not add to your fame. But if you would lose your temper and come to disagree (with him), then you would lose (the fame? or the friendship?) which you have preserved for ten years. You should not go!" Master Lin (Chih Tun) agreed, and consequently remained where he was".

²⁵⁵ *SSHY* IB/26b.

²⁵⁶ *SSHY* IB/16a: 理亦應阿堵上。The binome *a-tu* 阿堵 is a typical vernacular expression which occasionally appears in medieval literary texts. It seems to be roughly equivalent to *pi* 彼 "that one, yonder", and is often used, like *pi*, in a pejorative sense. Cf. P'ei Hsüeh-hai 裴學海, *Ku-shu hsü-tzu chi-shih* 古書虛字集釋 (Shanghai 1934), ch. IX, p. 764, who regards 阿 as a protheticum and 堵 as a variant of 者 (in the sense of 此 "this one"); Chu Ch'i-feng 朱起鳳, *Tz'u-t'ung* 辭通 (Shanghai 1934), p. 2060.3 (who regards it as equivalent to 這個); *Tz'u-hai* p. 1416.5 where this phrase from *SSHY* is misquoted as 理應在阿堵上, which would mean exactly the opposite: "Truth must be comprised therein".

²⁵⁷ *SSHY* IB/23b. For the important role played by the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* in early gentry Buddhism see also Tsukamoto Zenryū, *Shina bukkyōshi kenkyū* ch. VI (p. 35-42).

²⁵⁸ *E.g.*, Kumārajīva himself in the early fifth century commentary to the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* (combined glosses of Seng-chao, Kumārajīva and Tao-sheng) 注維摩經 (T 1775) ch. X, section 13, p. 414.1.1: 此經略叙眾經要義。明簡易了。

²⁵⁹ *Comm. SSHY* IB 21a-b, quoting *Kao-i sha-men chuan*.

²⁶⁰ SSHY IB/19b, in a conversation between Chih Tun and Wang T'an-chih.

²⁶¹ Cf. Chang Yen-yüan, *Li-tai ming-hua chi* V. 180 and 183 s.v. Ku K'ai-chih, who gives also a highly improbable story about its original function (*viz.* to raise money by the admittance fees of visitors who came to see the picture), quoted from the *Ching-shih ssu-chi* 京師奇記, cf. also O. Sirén, *Chinese Painting* (London 1956), vol. I, p. 28. It was a mural painting executed in a small hall north of the Wa-kuan ssu.

²⁶² On Sun Ch'o and his oeuvre see M. H. Wilhelm in *Liebenthal Festschrift, Sino-Indian studies* vol. V (Visvabharati, Santiniketan (1957), p. 261-271, and A. F. Wright in *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyusyo*, Kyōto 1954, p. 428, note 6. Surviving fragments of his works collected in CCW 62.1a.10b. According to the *Hsü Chin yang-ch'iu* 續晉陽秋 by T'an Tao-luan 檀道鸞 (mid. fifth century), quoted in *comm.* SSHY IB/34a, he and Hsü Hsün 許詢 were the first to introduce Buddhist themes and expressions into their poems, just as somewhat earlier Kuo P'u 郭璞 had been the first to use the *hsüan-hsüeh* terminology in poetry. Cf. Wang Yao 王瑄, "Hsüan-yen, shan-shui, t'ien-yüan—lun Tung-Chin shih" 玄言、山水、田園——論東晉詩, in his *Chung-ku wen-hsüeh feng-mao* 中古文學風貌 (vol. III of *Chung-ku wen-hsüeh shih-lun*, sixth impr., Peking 1953), p. 47-83.

²⁶³ HMC III 16.2-17.3; contents summarized by M. H. Wilhelm, *op.cit.*, p. 269-271. The present text seems to be incomplete, as it does not contain a passage quoted in KSC IV 350.2.26.

²⁶⁴ HMC III 16.2.12. Most editions have 兼中 "within the world", or, strictly speaking, "within the imperial domain". The Korean edition reads 冥中 "in the dark", which makes better sense. I take 兼中 to be a mistake for 冥中, cf. *Chuang-tzu* II (齊物論) p. 10: 始得其環中以應無窮.

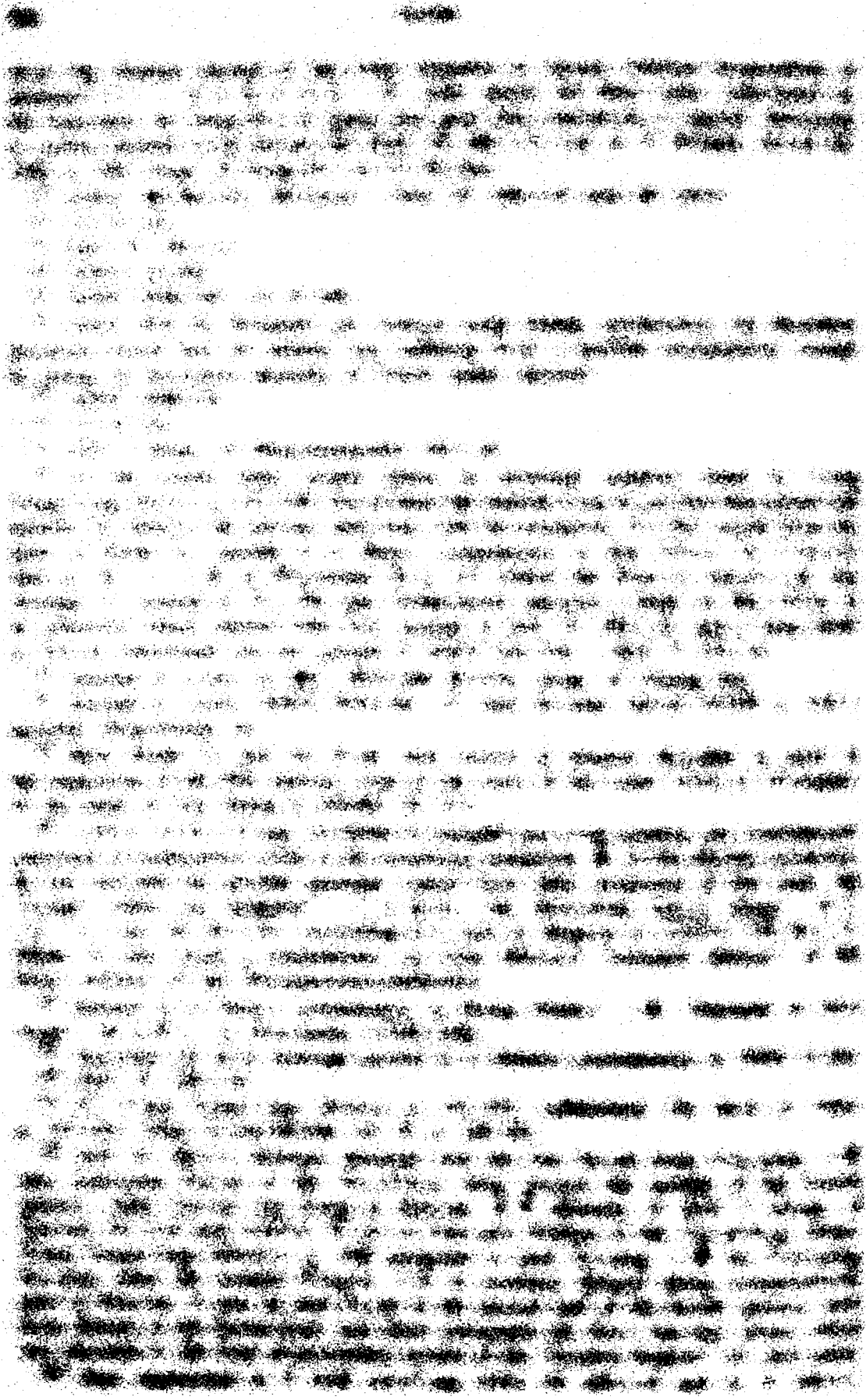
²⁶⁵ 老子贊, quoted in *Ch'u-hsüeh chi* ch. 23.3b.

²⁶⁶ KHMC XXVIII 323.1. According to SSHY IIB/14b and KSC V 355.1.6 he was one of the admirers of Chu Fa-t'ai 竺法汰 (320-387), the famous preacher of northern origin who had studied with Tao-an and who shortly after 365 arrived at Chienk'ang. This must be a mistake. According to CS 65.6b (biogr. of Wang Ch'ia) he died in 358 at the age of 35, whereas according to the *Chung-hsing-shu* 中興書 (a fifth century history of the Eastern Chin by Hsi Shao 郗紹, quoted *comm.* SSHY IIB/14b) he was 25 years old when he died. The latter figure is less probable, in view of the many official posts he had successively filled according to his CS biography. Moreover, his eldest son Wang Hsün 王珣 had been born in 350 AD (CS 65.7b), and it is improbable, though not impossible, that Wang Ch'ia was at that time 17 years old instead of 27.

²⁶⁷ No biography in CS; some biographical information in *Hsü Chin yang-ch'iu* quoted in *comm.* SSHY IA/40a.

²⁶⁸ SSHY IB/33b-34a, and *comm. ib.*

²⁶⁹ In SSHY IIIA/17b we read how he lived in a mountain cave, and there freely accepted the gifts of the regional aristocracy. Hsi Ch'ao had several "recluse-protégés": whenever he heard about someone who wanted to become a "retired gentleman", he sustained him with large sums of money and built a house for him; he did so among others for the painter-recluse Tai K'uei 戴逵 (SSHY IIIA/17b-18a). His father Hsi Yin was the patron of the Buddhist hermit-scholar Hsieh Fu (cf. below, p. 136). About this arcadic "recluse life", which became a fashion among the fourth century gentry, see Wang Yao, "Lun hsi-ch'i yin-i chih feng" 論希企隱逸之風 in *Chung-ku wen-jen sheng-huo* 中古文人生活 (sixth impr., Peking 1953), p. 77-109. Gentry-monks like Chih Tun who were patronized in the same way by prominent members of the gentry no doubt profited by this prevailing custom. Even in the North, under the foreign rulers, this curious fashion existed. When Shih Hu (333-349) was irritated by the repeated refusal of the eccentric hermit and *I-ching* specialist Yang K'o 楊新 to take office, the monk Tao-chin 道進 (one of Fo-t'u-teng's disciples) is said to have justified Yang K'o's behaviour by saying to Shih Hu: "How could you



[The following text is extremely faint and illegible due to heavy noise and low contrast. It appears to be a multi-paragraph document.]

初論 (Shanghai 1947), p. 2-4. Chih Tun himself seems also to have been interested in medicine. In a letter to Chih Tun (quoted *KSC* IV 348.2.29), Hsieh An praises the medicinal herbs which can be found in the mountains of Wu, and Chih Tun himself says in a preface describing a fasting ceremony at Wu (八關齋詩序, *KHMC* XXX 350.1.20): "At the morning of the fourth day, all worthies went away. But since I enjoyed the stillness of the solitary dwelling-place, and also because I had the intention to dig out (some) medicinal herbs, I remained there alone . . .". According to the *Kao-i sha-men chuan* (quoted *comm.* *SSHY* IB/22b) there was in Chih Tun's medicinal activities even an element of rivalry with the school of Yü Fa-k'ai: "Later, (Yü Fa-k'ai) used to wrangle with Chih Tun, and that is why Chih Tun when he was living at Shan-hsien took up the study of medicine". It may furthermore be significant that Yin Hao, one of the first serious lay students of Buddhism from the highest gentry (cf. p. 130 sqq.), was also known for his medicinal skill, although he did not practise it in the later years of his life (*SSHY* IIIA/32a).

³⁰⁸ *SSHY* IIIA/31b; *comm. ib.* quoting *Chin-shu* (without specifying which of the several works of that title is meant); *KSC* IV 350.1.15.

³⁰⁹ *KSC* IV 350.2.9.

³¹⁰ *KSC* IX 388.1.16. The source of Jivaka's "biography" in *KSC* was no doubt the *Ming-hsiang chi*, cf. *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XXVIII p. 491.2.

³¹¹ Quoted by Chi-tsang, *Chung-kuan lun shu* (T 1824) IIB.29; cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 263-265; Liebenthal p. 162-165; Fung Yu-lan/Bodde vol. II, p. 256. The last phrase is a quotation from Dharmarakṣa's version of the *Lalitavistara*, *P'u-yao ching* 普曜經 (Kyōto ed. I. 8, ch. IV, section 13, p. 725A2).

³¹² These are the terms as listed in Mokṣala's version of the 25,000 *p'p'* (T 221, ch. I p. 1.1.17); the Chinese terms enumerated here do not correspond to the list in the first chapter of the present *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā p'p'*. Their Sanskrit equivalents would be *māyā*, *svapna*, *pratisrutkā*, *pratibhāsa*, *chāyā*, *nirmāṇa*, *budbuda*, *pratibimba*, *marici*, (*u*)*dakacandra*. Other lists of *upamāna*, of varying length, include terms like *khaṇuṣṣu* (flowers in the air), *gandharvanagara* (Gandharva-city), *ākāśa* (the void), etc.

³¹³ *Chuang-tzu* II (齊物論), p. 16. In the commentary of Hsiang/Kuo to this passage (I. 23b) the Saint is also called the "great awakened one" 大覺者.

³¹⁴ The term *shih-han* 識念 "stored impressions", which in later times was used to denote Yü Fa-k'ai's theory, seems also to be based on a passage of Tsung Ping's *Ming fo lun*: *HMC* II 10.2.11, cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 265.

³¹⁵ *HMC* II 10.3.9: 無身而有神。法身之謂也。

³¹⁶ *SSHY* IB/22a-b; *KSC* IV 350.1.22. Chih Tun seems also to have had some contact with Yü Fa-lan; acc. to *KSC* IV 350.1.8 he wrote a posthumous eulogy (quoted *ib.*) on a portrait of Yü Fa-lan which he had ordered. Chih Tun wrote also a commemorative inscription on a portrait of Yü Tao-sui which had been made by Hsi Ch'ao (quoted *ib.* 350.2.21).

³¹⁷ *SSHY* IB/22a-b; *KSC* IV 360.1.25.

³¹⁸ *CSTCC* XII 83.1.10.

³¹⁹ *KSC* IV 350.2.29.

³²⁰ Biogr. in *Sung-shu* 93.5b; *Nan-shih* 75.5b.

³²¹ *KSC* IV 350.3.11; not mentioned in bibliographical sources.

³²² *KSC* V 357.1.8.

³²³ The *KSC* text has "a thousand images" 千像: perhaps a mistake for 十 "ten"?

³²⁴ Cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 265-266; Liebenthal, p. 165-166; Fung Yu-lan/Bodde vol. II, p. 257.

³²⁵ *KSC* XIII 413.3.5.

³²⁶ *KSC* *ib.* See also above, p. 56 (Ts'ao Chih).

³²⁷ Biogr. in *KSC* V 356.3.7.

³²⁸ *KSC* V 357.1.29 sqq. (in the biogr. of Chu Tao-i).

³²⁹ KSC V 357.2.5. The last words of my translation “people from primeval times” render the Chinese 上皇民: “people of the era of the highest (first) Emperor”, i.e., of the times of primordial simplicity and unspoilt happiness under the mythical emperor Fu Hsi (traditionally placed at the beginning of the third millennium BC).

³³⁰ KSC XI 395.3.5; also called T’an-kuang 曇光.

³³¹ KSC XI 385.2.27. According to another tradition, also recorded by Hui-chiao, the evil star had been exorcised by Po Seng-kuang and not by Chu T’an-yu. Perhaps the same person as the Chu Tao-yu or Po Tao-yu mentioned in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XXXIX 594.3?

³³² KSC XI 396.3.10.

³³³ KSC V 355.2.5.

³³⁴ *ib.* 355.2.17.

³³⁵ *ib.* 355.2.21: 有形便有數。有數則有盡。神既無盡。故知無形矣。 This opposition of the spiritual principle *versus* the ever-changing and limited entities 數 is in keeping with *hsüan-hsüeh* thought. Cf. the commentary of Han Po 韓伯 ad *I-ching*, *Hsi-tz’u* I, to the text 陰陽不測之謂神 (*chu-shu* ed. 7.13b), an important passage where *shen* is explained as the immaterial and everlasting principle of order and spontaneity in nature.

³³⁶ *ib.* 355.2.25.

³³⁷ KSC V 355.3.1. Chu Seng-fu’s own treatise *Shen wu hsing lun* does not occur in the list of contents of Lu Ch’eng’s *Fa-lun* (CSTCC XII 82.3 sqq.), but it is still mentioned in T 2149 (*Ta-T’ang NTL*, 664 AD) III 248.3.2 and X 330.1.11.

³³⁸ Biography KSC V 354.2.29; *ib.* (biogr. Tao-an) 351.3.26; in 空法師傳 quoted in *comm.* SSHY IB/24b-25a; mentioned as 揚州道人竺法汰 in the 漸備經十位胡名并書叙 (CSTCC IX 62.3.9) in connection with the sending of a copy of the *Daśabhūmikāsūtra* from Hsiang-yang to Chien-k’ang in 376 AD.

³³⁹ KSC V (biogr. Tao-an) 352.1.13; slightly different version in *comm.* SSHY IIB/14b, quoting the *Ch’in-shu* 桑書 by Chü P’in 車頻 (a history of the “Tibetan” empire of the Former Ch’in, completed in 451 AD by Chü Pin and based on an unfinished history by Chao Cheng 趙整; cf. Wu Shih-chien 吳士鑑, *Pu Chin-shu ching-chi chih* 補晉書經籍志, in *Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien*, vol. III, p. 3862c).

³⁴⁰ The KSC text has “the governor of Ching-chou, Huan Wen 桓溫”; as demonstrated by T’ang Yung-t’ung (*History*, p. 204), this must be a mistake for Huan Huo, who had this function in 365.

³⁴¹ KSC V 354.3.13.

³⁴² The table of contents of Lu Ch’eng’s *Fa-lun* (CSTCC XII 83.1.11) mentions an essay about 心無義 by Huan Hsüan, together with objections by Wang Mi 王護 (360-407) and an answer by Huan Hsüan.

³⁴³ Correspondence mentioned in KSC V 355.1.15. We have only one short text which treats some aspect of Chu Fa-t’ai’s teachings: SSHY IB/24b-25a, where he states that the six *abhijñā* and the three *vidyā* are merely different expressions for the same thing. However, this isolated utterance does not give us a clue to his other ideas, and does not seem to have any relation with the “theory” attributed to him—the subject is purely scholastic. Chu Fa-t’ai means to say that the six *abhijñā*, like the three *vidyā*, symbolize the acquisition of perfect knowledge in the three times (present, past, future): *divyaśrotra*, *divyacakṣus*, *ṛddhi*, *paracittajñāna* and *āsravakṣaya* are connected with the present and correspond to the *vidyā* of *āsravakṣaya*; *divyacakṣus* is also connected with the future, since it implies the power to see future events, whereas the sixth *abhijñā* and the third *vidyā*, viz. that of *pūrvanivāsānusrīti*, refer to the past. The source of Chu Fa-t’ai’s theory is unknown to me; in *Abh. Kośa* VII 108 the three *vidyā* are said to be identical with the last three *abhijñā*, viz. those of *pūrvanivāsānusrīti*, *cyutyupapādajñāna* (i.e., *divyacakṣus*) and *āsravakṣayajñāna*, since these make an end to erroneous thought in the past, the future and the present, respectively.

³⁴⁴ CSTCC XI 80.1.7 (in the anonymous 比丘尼戒本所出李末序), and *ib.* 81.2.13 (in Dharmaratna's 比丘大戒二百六十事, dated 381 AD).

³⁴⁵ KSC V 355.1.2.

³⁴⁶ KSC V 355.1.13.

³⁴⁷ KSC VII 366.2.24 = CSTCC XV 110.3.13.

³⁴⁸ KSC IV 349.2.19.

³⁴⁹ KSC IV 347.3.28. It was probably at this time, during Chu Tao-ch'ien's second stay at the capital, that he was reproached for his relations with the upper ten by the courtier Liu T'an 劉悛 (a son-in-law of emperor Ming), who asked him: "Why do you, a priest, frequent the (noble mansions with their) vermilion doors?", whereupon Tao-ch'ien gave the famous reply: "You yourself see their vermilion doors; to me, poor priest, they are but the grass curtains (of humble huts)" (SSHY IA/34b = KSC IV 348.1.4). SSHY (*ib.*) mentions another tradition according to which Chu Tao-ch'ien's opponent would not have been Liu T'an, but Pien Hu 卞壺, but this is impossible, as Pien Hu, a high magistrate and close collaborator of Wang Tao, had died already in 328, when the king of K'uai-chi Ssu-ma Yü (in whose presence this conversation is said to have taken place) was only eight years old.

³⁵⁰ KSC IV 350.3.5.

³⁵¹ KSC V 357.1.17.

³⁵² KSC V 354.3.25 and XIII 410.1.18. The KSC must be wrong in saying that Chu Seng-fu (cf. p. 147) lived at the Wa-kuan ssu "at the end of the Western Chin", i.e., ca 315 AD (KSC V 355.2.16). This may be the origin of Fa-lin's statement (cf. above, p. 104) that this monastery had already been founded by emperor Yüan.

³⁵³ KSC XIII (biography of Hui-shou) 410.2.11.

³⁵⁴ KSC V 354.3.21.

³⁵⁵ CS 13 (*T'ien-wen chih*) p. 12a.

³⁵⁶ SSHY IA/37b, cf. TCTC 103.1217a. For the imperial request forwarded to Fa-k'uang see KSC V 356.3.29. This Ch'ü An-yüan, prefect of T'ang-i, seems to have been an expert in matters of portents and exorcism, for when—also under Chien-wen—crows had come to nestle on the T'ai-chi Hall 太極殿, he was again consulted to explain the meaning of this sign (PCNC I 936.2.22).

³⁵⁷ For emperor Ai's Taoist inclinations cf. CS 8 (Annals) 8a. Before his accession to the throne, emperor Chien-wen served a famous "pure water master" 清水道士 who was called at the capital Wang P'u-yang 王濮陽, and lodged him in a room in his own mansion at K'uai-chi (PCNC I 936.2.12). He also made use of the advice of a famous Taoist master named Hsü Mai 許邁 (CS 31.6b, biogr. of empress Li 李), who likewise had close contacts with Wang Hsi-chih with whom he used to collect herbs and to take drugs (CS 80.5b, biogr. of Wang Hsi-chih, and *ib.* 8a, biogr. of Hsü Mai).

³⁵⁸ CS 9 (Annals) 1a, TCTC 103.1217a, and *passim* in SSHY, where many *ch'ing-t'an* meetings are described as taking place in his mansion at K'uai-chi.

³⁵⁹ *Pien-cheng lun* (T 2110) III 502.3.19.

³⁶⁰ KHMC CV 202.2.13.

³⁶¹ KSC XIII 409.2.17.

³⁶² CS 32.7a. According to PCNC II 938.1.9, the nun Tao-ch'iung 道瓊 was highly esteemed by "the empress during the *t'ai-yüan* era (376-396)"; this may also refer to empress Wang.

³⁶³ CS 84.3a. The practice of chanting Buddhist sūtras just before the execution is already attested in 324 AD at the execution of Chou Sung 周嵩 (CS 61.3b). It does not appear from the texts whether this was done as a prayer for help by repeating the Buddha's name or the *trīṣarāṇa* formula, or as a mental preparation for death.

³⁶⁴ Text of the decree in KSC IV 348.1.19.

³⁶⁵ KSC IV 350.3.28.

³⁶⁶ KSC V 355.1.9. Cf. the edict deploring Chu Fa-t'ai's death in the "Court Diaries of the *t'ai-yüan* era" as quoted in *comm. SSHY* IIB/14b.

³⁶⁷ KSC IV 350.3.26.

³⁶⁸ Letter to Tao-an KSC V 352.3.20, written before 379 when Hsiang-yang was captured and Tao-an was brought to Ch'angan; letter to Ling-tsung in PCNC I 936.3.10.

³⁶⁹ KSC XIII 409.2.27.

³⁷⁰ CS 9.6b. According to TCTC 104.1233, the Second Supervisor of the Masters of Writing Wang Ya 王雅 remonstrated in vain against the establishment of the *vihāra*.

³⁷¹ KSC XIII 413.3.3.

³⁷² KSC V 357.1.5.

³⁷³ KHMC III 110.1.7 sqq.

³⁷⁴ Var. T'an-mo-ts'o 撮 (**ts'wāt*), *Pien-cheng lun* (T 2110) III 502.3.21.

³⁷⁵ KSC XIII 410.2.3 (biogr. of Hui-li 慧力) where it is said that the statue was placed in the Wa-kuan monastery at Chien-k'ang; *Liang-shu* 54.11a (section of the Southern Barbarians) = *Nan-shih* 78-11a; S. Lévi, "Les missions de Wang Hiuen-ts'e dans l'Inde", *J.As.* 1900, p. 316 sqq., p. 411 (where the name of the Singhalese monk is wrongly given as Tan-mo I-yuen 柳遠; *yüan* here obviously belongs to the next sentence 遠獻此佛), p. 414 where the passage in *Liang-shu* is wrongly referred to as "section de Ou ti") and p. 422-423; Fa-lin's *Pien-cheng lun* (T 2110) III 502.3.21. The earliest (now lost) source for the story of the Singhalese mission may have been the anonymous "Account of the white jade statue presented by (the king of) Ceylon at the time of the Chin emperor Hsiao-wu" 晉孝武世師子國獻白玉像記, mentioned in the table of contents of Seng-yu's *Fa-yüan tsa-yüan yüan-shih chi* 法苑雜緣原始集 in CSTCC XII 92.3.2. Since this title figures in the section "Miscellaneous portraits and images", this work must have been an illustrated description or a painting with accompanying text representing the presentation of the jade statue or the statue itself.

³⁷⁶ Kao-seng *Fa-hsien chuan* (T 2085) 865.3.24; CSTCC IV 21.1.14.

³⁷⁷ Fa-hsien did the journey in less than a year, of which he spent more than five months on Java. The normal duration of the journey from Java to Canton in the first half of the fifth century was fifty days (T 2085 p. 866.1.29; trsl. Beal, *Records* vol. I p. LXXX; Giles p. 79).

³⁷⁸ It is remarkable that the Annals of the *Chin-shu* do not mention any "tribute" from the "Southern Barbarians" under the first years of the *i-hsi* era. However, under the year 413 we find the following entry:

"In this year Korea, Japan, as well as the South-western barbarians, T'ung-t'ou 銅頭 and Ta-shih 大師 all sent tribute of regional products" (CS 10.7b).

As far as I know, the name Ta-shih does not occur elsewhere, but it seems not unreasonable to suppose that it stands for Ta Shih (-tzu-kuo) = Ceylon, and that the "tribute" of 413 AD may refer to the arrival of the *śramaṇa* T'an-mo-i. In that case, his departure from Ceylon must have taken place long after 400. This hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that in the oldest account (KSC XIII) the envoy is said to have arrived *during* the *i-hsi* period and not, as the *Liang-shu* puts it, at its beginning.

It is consequently impossible to define the Singhalese king who sent the image. S. Lévi (*op.cit.*, p. 423) takes him to be Upatissa II, but this ruler (who according to Geiger's chronology, preface trsl. *Gūlavamsa* p. XI, reigned 522-524) lived in any case later than the Mahānāma who is certainly to be identified with the Ch'a-li Mo-ho-nan 刹利摩訶南 ("Kṣatriya Mahānāma") who in 428 sent an envoy with a letter to emperor Wen of the Liu-Sung dynasty (*Sung-shu* 97.4b). If we keep to Geiger's chronology, which is primarily based on some scanty data from Chinese sources (Mahānāma's letter mentioned above, and the *hsing-chuan* of Wang Hsüan-ts'e quoted in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XXIX), and maintain the traditional dates 362-389

for Meghavaṇṇa's reign, then any of his three successors: Jetṭhatissa II, Buddhadhāsa and Upatissa I (who together are said to have reigned from 389 till 409) could be the king in question.

³⁷⁹ *Ch'ien-mu* 媼姆, a rare binome for which the meaning "old lady" is given (*Tz'u-i'ing*, p. 1321; *Tz'u-hai*, p. 383.2). These influential females at the court, also mentioned (in the same connection) in *CS* 27 (*Wu-hsing chih* part I) p. 5b, are no doubt identical with the "wet-nurses" who, according to the memorial of Hsü Yung (quoted below) "entered into cliques and parties" together with monks and nuns. The influence of wet-nurses at the imperial court is not without precedent: according to *HHS* 5.19b and 10B.1b-2a (cf. Hulsewé, *Han Law*, p. 165, nr. 9) the wet-nurse Wang Sheng 王聖 was banished in 125 AD for having taken part in the actions of rival cliques on account of which she was found guilty of "great impiety" 大不道. I have been unable to trace the name(s) of the wet-nurse(s) in question, nor have I found other accounts of their activities.

³⁸⁰ *CS* 64.8a. Ssu-ma Tao-tzu founded the Chih-ch'eng 治城 monastery for the *dhāraṇī* specialist Chu Seng-fa 竺僧法 (*KSC* XII 406.3.19), and the Chien-ching nunnery for Miao-yin, cf. below. Already in 380 AD he had founded the Chung-ssu 中寺 (*i.e.*, "Palace monastery"?) at Chienk'ang, cf. the memorial inscription by Wang Seng-ju 王僧孺 (465-522) quoted in *IWLC* 77.4b.

³⁸¹ Cf. note 279. Here the normal word for wet-nurse, *ju-mu* 乳母, is used.

³⁸² *CS* 64.8b.

³⁸³ *PCNC* I 936.3.20.

³⁸⁴ *ib.* 936.3.24.

³⁸⁵ *ib.* 936.3.27. The last phrase may be a *cliché*; it is also said of the monk Hui-lin 慧琳, "the black-robed minister" (so called on account of his enormous influence at the court in the period 424-453, cf. *TCTC* 120.1418a under *yüan-chia* 3 = 426 AD) in his biography in *Sung-shu* 97.8b. The phrase occurs already frequently as a *cliché* in the *Han-shu*, where it is always used to suggest great fame and influence.

³⁸⁶ *PCNC* I 936.3.27.

³⁸⁷ *CS* 64.8b.

³⁸⁸ *HMC* VI 35.1 sqq. In view of the date, the author of the *Shih po lun* can hardly be identical with the person of this name mentioned above, p. 148. According to his biography (*KSC* VI 364.2.23 sqq.) he lived 346-417 AD, so that he in 365 AD was nineteen years old. According to the same source, this was exactly the year in which he became a monk (after the death of his mother), probably in the North.

³⁸⁹ *KSC* VII 367.2.22.

³⁹⁰ *KSC* VII 371.2.3.

³⁹¹ *Nan-shih* 1.13a.

³⁹² *CS* 10.10a.

³⁹³ *Sung-shu* 52.8b. Cf. *Sung-shu* 68.5b, where Liu I-k'ang 劉義康, king of P'eng-ch'eng (409-451), is said to have refused to drink poison for the same reason, and with the same alternative solution.

APPENDIX CHAPTER THREE

¹ *HMC* has 德, which is a mistake for 馮.

² *Tu-hsiang-hou* 都鄉侯, an aristocratic title without apanage, introduced in later Han times. For such titles, which grow very numerous in the third and fourth century, cf. Maspero-Escarra, *Institutions de la Chine*, p. 78-79 and Ch'in Hsi-t'ien 秦錫田, *Pu Chin i-hsing feng-chüeh piao* 補晉異姓封爵表 in *Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien* 二十五史補編 vol. III, p. 3355-3372, and introd., p. 3355.

³ No doubt referring to emperor Ming's interest in Buddhism, cf. above, p. 105.

⁴ 豈于時沙門不易屈膝; or: "Is it not true that at that time the monks did abstain from (易 = neglect?) the custom of bending their knees?" Tentative translation.

- ⁵ Reading, with most editions of the *HMC*, 辨 in stead of 辯.
- ⁶ For the expression *p'an-pi* 槃辟 cf. A. Waley, *Analects*, Textual Notes XVI. 4.
- ⁷ 正朝: the "correct" (legitimate) dynasty? The Palace edition reads 王朝 "at the court".
- ⁸ Reading, with T 2108, 祝 in stead of 況.
- ⁹ Reading, with T 2108, 禱 in stead of 卑 or 俸.
- ¹⁰ Reading, with most editions of the *HMC*, 俗 in stead of 實.
- ¹¹ The rare *sheng-t'ing* 聖聽, which means "the emperor's hearing (power)", is probably a mistake for *sheng-ts'ung* 聖聰.
- ¹² Reading, with T 2108, 乃 in stead of 及.
- ¹³ Reading, with T 2108, 末聖 in stead of 來聖.
- ¹⁴ Reading, with T 2108, 小 in stead of 才.
- ¹⁵ Here both *HMC* and T 2108 are corrupted.
T 2108: 王教○○○○○○則亂
HMC: 王教不得不一二之則亂.
The two readings must apparently be combined as follows: 王教則亂不得不一二之則亂.
- ¹⁶ Reading, with 2108, 往往備修之 in stead of 往備其事. In the next phrase I also adopt the reading of T 2108: 修之身備之家可矣 in stead of 備之家可以 (var. 矣).
- ¹⁷ I follow the reading 兩行 "to practise both (Confucianism and Buddhism?)" of the *HMC*; T 2108 has 南行 "to guide one's steps"? (cf. expressions like 指南).
- ¹⁸ Reading, with most editions of *HMC*, 循 in stead of 脩.
- ¹⁹ 今沙門之慎戒專專然及為其禮一而已矣. Tentative translation; T 2108 has 專然 in stead of 專專然.
- ²⁰ 天網恢恢疏而不失, cf. *TTC* 73, trsl. Duyvendak p. 151. The meaning here is that the ideal ruler can afford to be liberal and to allow his subjects to follow their own inclinations.

²¹ The first section describes the formal declaration by which one becomes an *upāsaka*, according to the more complicated procedure of the Sarvāstivādins, which consisted of pronouncing the formula of the Triple Refuge (*trīṣaraṇa*) and accepting the Five Commandments or Prohibitive Rules (*pañcaśīla*). In this, the ceremony differed from the one attested in the Pāli canon, according to which one becomes an *upāsaka* by merely pronouncing the *trīṣaraṇa* formula. This became a point of controversy, discussed by the scholiasts of various sects, cf. *Abh. Kośa* IV 71-76; Lamotte, *Traité*, p. 829 note 3. The classical form of the *trīṣaraṇa*-(*gamana*, 三歸) is:

- (1) *Buddhaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi* (*dvipādānām agryam*) 歸命佛[兩足尊]
- (2) *dharmam śar.g.* (*virāgānām agryam*) 歸命法[離欲尊]
- (3) *sanghaṃ śar.g.* (*gaṇānām agryam*) 歸命僧[眾中尊]

Hsi Ch'ao gives a Mahāyāna version of this formula, as appears from the "pluralism" of his 三世十方佛, and renders *dharma* in this formula by 十二部經, the "twelve classes of scriptures" in which the *dharma* is contained.

²² *Kuei-ming* 歸命 means no doubt "to surrender one's life", or "one's fate" to a higher authority. In Buddhist Chinese literature it is sometimes explained as "(to turn towards =) to comply with (歸) the orders (or authority, 命)", sc. of the Buddha (Fa-tsang 法藏, *Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun i-chi* 大乘起信論義記, T 1846, ch. I p. 246.3.27).

²³ 南無 (A.C. **nām.mīu*) = *namas* (with dative: "homage to . . . , salutation to . . ."), or rather *namo* . . . , the form used before voiced consonants, which is far more frequent. For a fancy explanation of 南無 ("in the South there is none") in a Chinese apocryphal work, see below, p. 301.

²⁴ Cf. Sun Ch'ao in his *Yü tao lun* (above p. 133) and Yü Fa-k'ai (above, p. 142).

²⁵ The Five Rules together with the Triple Refuge form the religion of the layman

(*upāsaka-pañcaśīla-saṃvara*). They are the following: to abstain from (1) destruction of life, *prāṇātipāta* 殺生; (2) taking what not is given, *adattādāna* 偷盜; (3) unchastity, *kāma-mithyācāra* 邪淫; (4) falsehood, *mṛśāvāda*, 妄語; (5) intoxicating liquors, *surāmāireyapramāda* 飲酒.

²⁶ For the thirty-six evils of drunkenness see *Ta-chih-tu lun* 大智度論 (T 1509) 13.158.2, Lamotte, *Traité*, p. 817-819, and the sources mentioned there. In China, abstinence from alcoholic drinks originated not before the early third century in Taoist circles, no doubt under Buddhist influence (cf. Fukui Kōjun, *Dōkyō no kiso-kuteki kenkyū*, p. 91 and 130).

²⁷ *Chai* 齋, an ancient term denoting the ritual purification which the celebrant had to undergo before offering, and the period of self-purification during which he "prevents (contact with) nefarious things, suppresses his desires, and does not (allow) his ears to listen to music" (*Li-chi* XXII, chapter *Chi-t'ung* 祭統, *chu-shu* ed. 49.4b; trsl. Couvreur II.324). Hence used in Buddhist works as a translation of *uposatha* (*upavasatha*, (*u*)*pośadha*) denoting, for the layman, the six fast-days of each month (viz. the 8th, the 14th, the 15th, the 23rd, the 29th and the 30th day of each month) and, in addition, the three months of fasting each year (長齋), originally the first months of the three Indian seasons, viz. the first, the fifth and the ninth month of the year. Cf. *Abh. Kośa* IV 65-69. On the *uposatha*-days the layman keeps eight instead of the usual five rules (八戒, *aṣṭāṅgaśīla*). A curious motivation why these six days of the month are chosen is given in the *T'ien-ti pen-ch'i ching* 天地本起經 quoted in *Ta chih-tu lun* (T 1509) 13.160.1 (not in one of the existing versions of this sūtra), trsl. Lamotte, *Traité* p. 835 sqq.: these are said to be the days on which the demons are particularly malicious. For the term (*u*)*pośadha* etc. see S. Lévi, "Observations sur une langue précanonique du Bouddhisme", *J.As.* 1912.2 p. 501 sqq.

²⁸ 四等心, mostly called 四無量, the four *apramāṇa* (or *brahmavihāra*) "infinitudes", cf. below, note 76.

²⁹ Reading, with most versions, 玄想感發.

³⁰ The Six Remembrances or Six kinds of Mindfulness 六思念 (*anusmṛti*), which especially belong to the religion of the layman (Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten* p. 5073.3 sqq.), are (1) remembrance of the Buddha, *buddhānusmṛti*, (2) of the Doctrine, *dharmānusmṛti*, (3) of the Community, *saṅghānusmṛti*; (4) of the Rules, *śīlānusmṛti*, (5) of Charity, *tyāgānusmṛti*, (6) of the Gods, *devānusmṛti* or *devatānusmṛti*. Cf. *Mvy.* 1148-1154; for other lists of eight and ten *anusmṛti* cf. Mochizuki p. 4223.1 and 2346.2. A very detailed explanation of each term in *Ta chih-tu lun* ch. XXI, where the whole of section 36 is devoted to the *anusmṛti* (here a list of eight, as in the first section of the 25.000 *p'p'*). Hsi Ch'ao here again renders *dharma* by "scripture(s)", cf. note 21.

³¹ The *devatānusmṛti* is a mental concentration on the glory of the gods, and the possibility of being reborn in their abode by observing the Rules of the religious life, cf. *Ta chih-tu lun*, *ib.* For the uninitiated Chinese reader *t'ien* must have been ambiguous: "gods" and "heaven" as the dwelling-place of the gods, but also Heaven as an impersonal principle, Nature.

³² The Ten Good Works (*kuśala-karmāṇi*), negative rules prohibiting the sins of body, speech and mind, are the following (in the usual order, and with the Chinese equivalents used by Kumārajīva): To avoid the bodily acts of (1) killing living (beings), *prāṇātighāta* 殺生, (2) taking what is not given, *adattādāna* 偷盜, (3) unchastity, *kāma-mithyācāra* 邪淫;

the vocal acts of (4) falsehood, *mṛśāvāda* 妄語, (5) harsh language, *pāruṣya* 惡口, (6) calumny, *paiśunya* 兩舌, (7) idle talk, *sambhinna-pralāpa* 綺語;

the mental acts of (8) covetousness, *abhidhyā* 貪欲, (9) malice, *vyāpāda* 瞋恚, (10) false views, *mithyādṛṣṭi* 邪見. Of course Hsi Ch'ao did not know the Sanskrit equivalents of the terms he uses here; I have translated them in my text as they would probably have been interpreted by the Chinese reading public of his days. Hsi Ch'ao

has placed the mental acts before the vocal acts: 嫉 = 貪欲, 恚 = 瞋恚, 癡 = 邪見.

³³ The meaning of this statement is not clear. *Kāmamithyācāra* comprises all sinful actions of a sexual nature (*Abh. Kośa* IV.146 sqq.; four kinds defined *ib.* 157).

³⁴ 凡在有方之境; for the expression 有方 cf. Hui-yüan in *Sha-men pu-ching wang-chelun* 沙門不敬正者論 section 2 (*HMCV* 30.3.1): 凡在有方同業生於七地.

³⁵ 三界 = *trailokya*, consisting of the Realm of Desire (*kāmadhātu* 欲界, i.e., the six heavens of desire, the human world and the hells), the Realm of Visible Form (*rūpadhātu* 色界) and the Formless Realm (*ārūpyadhātu* 無色界).

³⁶ 餓鬼 = *preta*.

³⁷ For the problem of a *partial* observation of the Rules cf. Mochizuki, p. 1118.3 sqq.; Lamotte, *Traité*, p. 821; *Abh. Kośa* IV.73 sqq. (different kinds of laymen, those observing only one vow, two vows etc., rejected by Sautrāntikas, advocated by Vaibhāṣikas).

³⁸ Reading, with the Ming edition, 給 instead of 給.

³⁹ 三惡道, *durgati*, viz. animals, *pretas* and inhabitants of the hells.

⁴⁰ *Yin* 陰 is an archaic translation of *skandha*, the five elements of the pseudo-personality. It is not clear why *yin* was used to render *skandha* ("bulk, quantity, agglomeration"); in Chinese Buddhist texts it is never used in opposition to *yang*. Probably *yin* 陰 (= 蔭) "darkness, shade, the dark(ening) element" which covers man's spirit? Cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 139, and the early third century commentary on the *Yin-ch'ih-ju ching* (T 1694) ch. I p. 9.3.8, where the term *yin*, here especially applied to *vijñāna*, is explained as "invisible".

⁴¹ The five *skandhas* are (1) visible matter, *rūpa* 色, (2) feeling, *vedanā* 受, (3) conceptions, *saṃjñā* 想, (4) predispositions or actions of the will, *saṃskāra* (plur.) 識, (5) consciousness, *vijñāna* 行 (the English terms are of course only approximative and rather unsatisfactory translations). The Chinese equivalents are those used by Kumārajīva; those given by Hsi Chao are the ones which occur already in Lokakṣema's *Tao-hsing ching* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā p'p'*; T 224), and which had probably been popularized in the early fourth century by this very influential scripture.

⁴² It goes without saying that this splitting up of the Chinese equivalents of *vedanā* and *saṃjñā* and the interpretation of each part of these terms is a purely Chinese invention; in fancy explanations like these we have probably an echo of Chih Tun's exegesis of the *Tao-hsing ching* and other scriptures.

⁴³ The five Hindrances (*nivaraṇa*) are (1) desire for lusts, *kāmacchanda* 貪欲, (2) malice, *vyāpāda* 瞋恚, (3) torpor and drowsiness, *styānamiddha* 惛沈睡眠, (4) the sin of frivolity, *auddhatyakaukrtya* (*auddhatya* in this sense, not as normally in Skt. "haughtiness, disdain", cf. Edgerton, p. 161b) 掉戲, 調戲, (5) doubt, *vicikitsā* 疑; cf. *Abh. Kośa* V.98. Hsi Ch'ao has 貪性 for *rāga*, places (5) before (4), and renders *styānamiddha* and *vicikitsā* very inadequately by 愚癡 "ignorance" and 邪見 "wrong views".

⁴⁴ I have not found the source of this quotation. According to the Buddhist doctrine of acts (*karman*), it is indeed the good, sinful or morally indifferent *intention* which is all-important. Every corporal sinful deed (*kāyakarman*) or vocal deed (*vākkarman*) as well as (according to the Sautrāntikas) the material state of sinfulness (called *aviññapti*, "non-information") are both the result of a primary mental act (*manas-karman*) which thus forms the base of all activity. Cf. *Abh. Kośa* IV.2. sqq., et Et. Lamotte, "Le Traité de l'Acte de Vasubandhu, Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa", *MCB* IV, p. 151-288, for the opinions of different sects on the act and the process of karmic retribution; for the Sarvāstivāda doctrine on this subject esp. p. 154-160. Already in "pre-Buddhist" times Chinese Confucian *literati* had different opinions about the important problem what should be punished: the (corporal) act or the intention. The latter standpoint—of course without the religious justification later provided by Buddhism—is clearly voiced e.g., in *Yen-t'ieh lun* 55 (ch. 刑德) *SPPY* ed. 10.3a; cf. Hulswé, *Remnants of Han Law* I p. 251 sqq.

⁴⁵ The six (or twelve) *āyatana* comprise the five sense-organs with their respective objects (the eye and visible forms, *rūpa*; the ear and sound, *śabda*; the nose and odour, *gandha*; the tongue and savour, *rasa*; the body and tangible things, *sparsa* or *spraśṭavya*), and a sixth sense-organ *manas* ("mind", here translated by 心) with the mental phenomena (*dharma*) as its object.

⁴⁶ Hsi Ch'ao is led astray by the Chinese translation: *shih* 識 "knowing" (or "remembering") as the sixth of the sense-organs stands actually for *manas*, whereas as the fifth of the *skandhas* it renders *vijñāna*.

⁴⁷ A quotation from the anonymous *Pan-ni-huan ching* 般泥洹經, T 6 ch. I p. 181.1.26: 心作天.心作人.心作鬼神畜生地獄.皆心所為也 ; cf. also T 5, another version of this (?) *Mahāpārinirvāṇasūtra* ascribed to Po Yüan (late third cent.), ch. I p. 165.3.10: 心取羅漢.心取天.心取人.心取 畜生蟲蟻鳥獸.心取地獄.心取 餓鬼.作形貌者.皆心所為----

⁴⁸ Allusion to *Chung-yung* I.2: 故君子慎其獨也.

⁴⁹ Cf. *I-ching*, *Hsi-tz'u I* (Chu-shu ed. 7.17b): 君子居其室出其言善則千里之外應之.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Chung-yung* I.2: 莫見乎隱.莫顯乎微

⁵¹ Tao-an mentions in his catalogue two versions of the *Shih-erh men ching*, a smaller and a larger one, both in one chapter and ascribed to An Shih-kao (CSTCC II 5.3.26-27); he wrote commentaries on both versions, which still existed in the early sixth century (CSTCC V 39.3.8). The two versions are already listed among the "lost scriptures" in the *Chung-ching mu-lu* of 602 AD (T 2147 V 178.1.12). Tao-an's preface to his commentary on the larger version has been preserved (CSTCC VI 45.2.26 sqq., annotated Japanese translation in Ui Hakuju 字井伯壽, *Shaku Dōan kenkyū* 釋道安研究, Tōkyō 1956, p. 94 sqq.); to judge from this preface, it was a scripture mainly devoted to *dhyāna*. Elsewhere (below, p. 170) Hsi-ch'ao quotes the "*Shih-erh men ching*", without specifying whether he means the larger or the smaller one; that he here mentions a "separate version" of this scripture proves that he knew two redactions of this text, very probably the same as those mentioned by Tao-an.

⁵² Allusion to *Lun-yü* IV.10: 子曰.君子於天下也.無適也.無莫也.義之與比 .

⁵³ The meaning of this phrase is not clear. In the foregoing lines the author has said that according to the Buddhist doctrine we must be constantly aware of the treacherous movements of our minds, and that we must try to control its dangerous activity. This would mean that the Buddhist devotee, contrary to the Confucian ideal exemplified by Confucius, indeed consciously "sets his mind for some (good) things" and "against other (evil) things". As I have interpreted the last phrase, Hsi Ch'ao then seems to conclude that the Buddhist mental discipline, as a lower preparatory stage of self-cultivation, is inferior to the mental freedom and unconscious "natural" morality of the Confucian Sage, the *chün-tzu*.

⁵⁴ 沮觀, lit. "to stop (what is worthless) and to encourage (people of talents).

⁵⁵ 人之君子.猶天之小人. This looks like a quotation, but I have been unable to trace it.

⁵⁶ Reading, with the Korean edition, 必 instead of 宀.

⁵⁷ Reading, with the Korean edition, 貌 instead of 慈.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Chuang-tzu* XXIII (庚桑楚) p. 150: 為不善乎顯明之中者.人得而誅之.為不善乎幽閒之中者.鬼得而誅之.

⁵⁹ There were various sūtras named *Cheng-chai ching*. The one quoted here may have been the one attributed to An Shih-kao in *Ta T'ang NTL* (T 2149) I 222.3.28 and later catalogues (listed as "lost" in *K'ai-yüan SCL*, T 2154 I 480.3.12). On the other hand, there were two versions of a *P'u-sa chai ching* or *P'u-sa chai-fa (ching)* 菩薩齋[法][經], translated by Dharmarakṣa, one of the many variant titles of which was (*P'u-sa*) *cheng-chai ching*. The textual history of these two works is far from clear. Seng-yu (CSTCC II 8.3.3 and 9.2.26) mentions both a *P'u-sa chai-fa* and a *P'u-sa chai ching*, giving for the first one the variant titles of 菩薩正齋經

and 持齋經, and for the second one 賢首菩薩齋經, and adding that the latter work had already been lost. But both works are mentioned without comment as to their being preserved or not in Fa-ching's *Chung-ching mu-lu*, T 2146, V 139.2.12. Both works are mentioned as "lost" in Ching-t'ai's 靜樂 *Chung-ching mu-lu* of 666 AD, T 2148, V 214.3.16, occur again as extant works in *Ta-T'ang NTL*, T 2149, II 234.1.12 and 235.2.19 and in *Ku-chin i-ching t'u-chi* T 2151, II 353.3.16 and 354.1.6, to be finally definitively listed as "lost" in *Ta-chou k'an-ting chung-ching mu-lu*, T 2153, XII 443.2.24. In the third place the catalogues from Fa-ching's *Chung-ching-mu-lu*, T 2146, onward mention an apocryphal work named *Fo-shuo cheng-chai ching* 佛說正齋經: T 2146, IV 138.3.9; T 2147, LV 174.2.15 etc.; the last catalogue in which it is mentioned is the *Chen-yüan hsün-ting shih-chiao mu-lu* of 799-800 AD, T 2157, XXVIII 1020.3.25.

⁶⁰ This looks like a quotation, but I have been unable to trace its source.

⁶¹ Ch'en P'ing (died 178 BC), general and counsellor of the first Han emperor, a strategist famous for his "tricks" (biography in *Shih-chi* 56.1a and *HS* 40.12a). Hsi Ch'ao summarizes Ch'en P'ing's words reported in *Shih-chi* 56.8b.

⁶² Yen Hui 顏回 (traditional dates 514-483 BC), Confucius' favourite disciple, died young (*Lun-yü* VI.2, IX.20; IX.21; XI.6, 8, 9, 10; *Shih-chi* 67.2a). Jan Keng 冉耕, another of his disciples, died prematurely of a terrible disease (*Lun-yü* VI.8; *Shih-chi* 67.3a). For the Confucian disapproval of the "hegemons" of Ch'i and Chin cf. e.g., *Lun-yü* XIV.16 and *Mencius* IB.7.1.

⁶³ Cf. *Shu-ching* I.ii.12 (舜典): 殛鯀于羽山 (*Chu-shu* ed. 3.14b) and *ib.* II.17: 帝曰兪咨禹汝平水土惟時懋哉... (*Chu-shu* ed. 3.21a); *Shu-ching* IV.iv.3 (洪範): 鯀則殛死禹乃嗣興 (*Chu-shu* ed. 20.2b); *Shih-chi* 2.1b.

⁶⁴ Most editions have 魴, a rare variant of *hsü* 鱖. The Korean ed. has 魴 instead of 魴, which does not make sense here.

⁶⁵ *Ssu-tsui* 四罪: the four punishments inflicted by Shun upon the four great criminals, cf. *Shu-ching* I.ii.12.

⁶⁶ The creation of the "punishment of arresting the wife and children of the criminal" is traditionally ascribed to Shang Yang, the originator of the School of Law, when he was chief-minister in the feudal state of Ch'in in the middle of the fourth century BC, cf. "The Origins and Nature of Chattel Slavery in China" by E. G. Pulleyblank, in *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, I (1958), p. 185-220.

⁶⁷ Quotation from the anonymous *Pan-ni-huan ching* 般泥洹經, T 6, ch. I p. 181.2.1.

⁶⁸ Allusion to *Shu-ching* I.III.5 (大禹謨): "Accordance with what is right is (followed by) good fortune, and compliance with refractoriness (is followed by) misfortune, like (body and voice are followed by) shadow and echo" 惠迪吉. 從逆凶. 惟影響 (*chu-shu* ed. 4.3b).

⁶⁹ Allusion to *Tao te ching* 73: 天網恢恢疏而不失. The "net of Heaven", from which nothing can escape, here symbolizes the universal and ineluctable process of karmic retribution.

⁷⁰ For this (lost) scripture cf. above, note 51. The subject dealt with in this fragment is the (usually ninefold) meditation on the repulsive nature of the body, the "contemplation of the impure" (*aśubhabhāvanā*, 不淨觀).

⁷¹ The *Ch'a-mo-chieh ching* 產摩竭經 (T 533, ? *Kṣemamkārāparipṛcchā*), var. *P'u-sa sheng-ti ching* 菩薩生地經, is a short sūtra devoted to the virtue of *kṣānti*. It was translated by Chih-ch'ien, and already mentioned as such by Tao-an (*CSTCC* II 7.1.2). The phrases quoted here occur in T 533 814.1.17 sqq., but there the text has 忍辱為本 (instead of 大).

⁷² Quotation from *Fa-chü ching* (*Dharmapada, Udānavarga*) T 210, ch. II, section 36 (泥洹品), p. 573.3.8: 受辱心如地. 行忍如門閭 (var. 城). Hsi Ch'ao has *k'un* 闕 instead of *yü* 闕, both words meaning "threshold". No corresponding verse

in the Tibetan *Udānavarga* (verse 2 of the section “*Nirvāṇa*”, trsl. W. W. Rockhill, *Udānavarga* p. 116, deals also with Patience, but runs quite differently); the Japanese editors of T 210 refer to *Dhammapada* 95 (ed. Fausböll p. 18: *Pathavisamo no virujjhati/indakhilūpamo tādi subbato . . .*), where the same similes are used, but about the pious monk and not about *khanti*.

⁷³ The *Ch'eng-chü ching* is the *Ch'eng-chü kuang-ming ting-i* (var. *san-mei*) *ching* 成具光明定慧 (var. 三昧) 經, translated around the beginning of the third century by Chih Yao 支曜 (T 630). The scripture is mentioned by Tao-an (*CSTCC* II 6.3.1), and seems to have been very popular in the fourth century; according to Tao-an's biography (*CSTCC* XV 108.1.8 = *KSC* V 351.3.12) it was one of the first sūtras which Tao-an as a *śramaṇera* had to memorize. Beside this translation there seems to have been a second version, ascribed to Lokakṣema (*CSTCC* II 6.2.15, not mentioned by Tao-an; *ib.* 15.1.8; mentioned as “lost” in T 2148 V 213.2.15). For the passage quoted by Hsi-Ch'ao see T 630 453.1.12.

⁷⁴ The *Hsien che te ching* in one *ch.* is mentioned among the translations of Chih Ch'ien in *CSTCC* II 7.1.13, and in later catalogues (T 2149, *Ta-T'ang NTL* II 228.2.7; T 2151, *Ku-chin i-ching t'u-chi* I 351.3.6); mentioned as “lost” in T 2154 (*K'ai-yüan SCL*) II 489.1.14. The words quoted here from this sūtra are surprisingly similar to Confucius' own definition of the virtue of “consideration” or “reciprocity” 恕, attributed to him in *Lun-yü* XV, 13.1: 自所不欲, 勿施於人.

⁷⁵ Cf. *Lun-yü* IV.15: 夫子之道, 忠恕而已矣.

⁷⁶ The four “Infinitudes” (*apramāṇa* 無量心) or *brahmavihāra* are four forms of meditation (*bhāvanā*) which serve as antidotes against the evils of enmity, lack of compassion, dissatisfaction and attachment: (1) love, *maitrī* 慈, (2) compassion, *karuṇā* 悲, (3) joy, *muditā* 喜, (4) indifference, *upekṣā* 捨. I do not know the source of Hsi Ch'ao's curious description of the fourth *apramāṇa*.

⁷⁷ For this use of *shu* 數 cf. above, p. 147 and note 335.

⁷⁸ Quotation from Chih Ch'ien's *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching* 太子瑞應本起經, Kyōto ed. ch. I p. 236. A.1. Cf. also *Fa-chü ching* 法句經 T 210 ch. I p. 566.2.3: 世皆有死, 三界無安, 諸天雖樂, 福盡亦喪 (no corresponding verse in the *Lokavagga* of the *Dhammapada*).

⁷⁹ T 630 (cf. note 73) p. 457.1.4: 夫福者有盡, 有苦有往, 未有煩勞, 有食飲 . . .

⁸⁰ Paraphrase of T 6, ch. II p. 189.2.21, Mahākāśyapa's words after the Buddha's decease: 有生輒死, 死則有生, 五道無常, 唯泥洹樂 . . . All editions have 生有輒死; the reading in Hsi Ch'ao's quotation is obviously the correct one. The last words in the quotation (快 instead of 樂) may be explained by the fact that Hsi Ch'ao confused the passage quoted above with another phrase from the same sūtra (T 6 ch. II 187.1.22): 無生不死, 死而不滅, 唯泥洹快.

⁸¹ Quotation from the *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching* (cf. note 78), Kyōto ed. ch. I p. 236 A2.

⁸² 習期請忘心, or, with the Korean ed., 期請忘心 “in the expectation (or: with the final aim) to forget (all conscious) thought”?

⁸³ Cf. what Hsiang Hsiu (or Kuo Hsiang) says, in almost identical terms, about the spontaneity of all operations in Nature without any substrate or creative power (above, p. 92). This is one of the clearest examples in early Chinese Buddhist literature of the identification of *karman* with the Chinese concept of the inexorable “course of nature”.

⁸⁴ 詠歌不足, 係以手舞, a paraphrase of a passage from the preface to the Odes, *chu-shu* ed. I.i p. 5a.

⁸⁵ The classical formula of the first of the Four Noble Truths (*ārya-satyāni*), that of Suffering.

⁸⁶ The term *yüan-tui* 緣對 does, as far as I know, not belong to the normal Buddhist vocabulary as used in translated scriptures. My translation is tentative; here it seems to indicate the karmic process of cause and effect. *Yüan-tui* does occur in Tao-an's

preface to the *Shih-fa chü-i (ching)* 十法句義經序 in *CSTCC* X 70.1.13; there the author says that the Buddha “Adapted himself to the world, and therefore administered the medicine (of the Doctrine) in accordance with the therapy (lit. “the antidote”)” 從俗故緣對而授藥, but this is obviously quite another application of the term.

⁸⁷ Allusion to the well-known metaphor in *Chuang-tzu* XXIX (ch. 盜跖) p. 198: 忽然無異騏驎之馳過隙也 (said of the short duration of human life in comparison to that of Heaven and Earth).

⁸⁸ Cf. *Lieh-tzu* VII (ch. 揚朱) p. 78: 生則克蘇, 死則腐骨, 生則桀紂, 死則腐骨, 腐骨一矣, 孰知其異

⁸⁹ Tentative translation, 該以敷塗, *kai* in the sense of 備, 博, 兼; *shu-t'u* probably for 殊塗[途] which expression is regularly used to denote that several different ways may lead to the same goal (cf. *I-ching*, *Hsi-tz'u* II.3b: 天下同歸而殊途), the “common goal” in this case being death and decay.

⁹⁰ Probably a paraphrase of *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching*, Kyōto ed. ch. I p. 236 B 1: 物生有死, 事成有敗, 安則有危, 得則有亡, 萬物紛擾, 皆當歸空

⁹¹ Or, perhaps: “by investigating (its nature) to find rest in it 推而安之?”

⁹² Quotation from Chih Ch'ien's version of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, T 474, ch. I, p. 523.1.25: 又一切法可知見者如水月形, 一切諸法從意生形; cf. Kumārajīva's version T 475, ch. I, p. 541.2.26; somewhat more extensive translation (or a more “developed” text?) in Hsüan-tsang's version, T 476. I 563.3.9.

⁹³ 無往不滯 is certainly a mistake (“we shall be impeded wherever we go”). The meaning must be parallel to that of the preceding 觸遇而爽, and the mistake may be caused by confusion with the foregoing 無往不爽. *Pu* 不 may be wrong for 而.

⁹⁴ 繫, lit. “causes of dissension; offense”.

⁹⁵ *Viz.*, in *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, version of Chih Ch'ien, T 474 II 528.3.1: 譬如大丈夫畏時, 非人得其便; identical in the Kumārajīva version, T 475 II 548.1.3 and the Hsüan-tsang version, T 476 IV 573.3.8. 非人 is the standard equivalent of *kimnara*.

⁹⁶ 非常 is in early Buddhist texts sometimes interchanged with 無常 for *anitya*. The term 四非常 does not belong to the normal ancient Buddhist vocabulary; it occurs, however, in K'ang Seng-hui's *Liu-tu chi-ching* 六度集經 (T 152). The “four aspects of what is not permanent” here enumerated are, in fact, the four aspects of the *duḥkhasatya*, *viz.*, *anitya*, *duḥkha*, *sūnya* and *anātmaka*, cf. e.g., *Abh. Kośa* LVP VII.31.

⁹⁷ 夕惕, cf. *I-ching*, explanation of the first hexagram (乾): 君子終日乾乾, 夕惕若厲.

⁹⁸ 榮觀, cf. *Tao te ching* 26, where this term must probably be interpreted as “in his camp with watch-towers” (榮 = 營, cf. Kao Heng 高亨, *Lao-tzu cheng-ku* 老子正詁 (2nd ed., Shanghai 1948) p. 62-63; Duyvendak trsl. p. 65). But, to judge from the context here, the medieval Chinese interpretation seems to have been as given in the translation. The pseudo Ho-shang Kung commentary paraphrases it as “palace” 宮闕; Wang Pi gives no comment.

⁹⁹ Probably *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching*, Kyōto ed. ch. I p. 234 B 1: 三界皆苦, 何可樂者.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. the expression 終食之間 in *Lun-yü* IV 5.3.

¹⁰¹ Hypothetical translation of 出息不報. The meaning of 報 here is obscure. It may be a mistake for 保 (both Arch. *pōg > AC *pāu); hence “(even a single) exhalation (can)not be preserved”.

¹⁰² This passage is no doubt a quotation from, or a paraphrase of, a chapter of the “Sūtra in Forty-two Sections”, probably the first Buddhist scripture in Chinese (see above, p. 29). It substantially agrees with ch. 38 of the present text (trsl. Hackmann p. 234; T 784 p. 724.1), but there are considerable differences in the wording of this passage: (Hsi Ch'ao's quotation) 佛問諸弟子, 何謂無常. 一人曰. 一日

不可保。是為無常。佛言。非佛弟子。一人曰。食頃不可保。是為無常。佛言。非佛弟子。一人曰。出息不報。便就後世。是為無常。佛言。真佛弟子。

(the present version in the Korean edition): 佛問沙門。人命在幾間。對曰。數日間。佛言。子未能為道。復問一沙門。人命在幾間。對曰。飯食間。佛言。子未能為道。復問一沙門。人命在幾間。對曰。呼吸間。佛言。善哉。子可謂為道者矣。

¹⁰³ 懼不在交; translation very uncertain.

¹⁰⁴ Allusion to *Lun-yü* IX.18: 譬如平地雖覆一簣。進吾往也。

¹⁰⁵ Allusion to *Huai-nan tzu* I (原道) p. 5: 聖人不費尺之壁而重寸之陰。

¹⁰⁶ For the term *tu* 屢 as a translation of *pāramitā* see ch. II, note 140.

¹⁰⁷ 兼忘, allusion to *Chuang-tzu* XIV (ch. 天運) p. 88: 兼忘天下易。使天下兼忘我難。

¹⁰⁸ The stereotyped number of ninety-six classes of heretical teachers, consisting of the six founders of heretical doctrines, each of them with fifteen schools of disciples.

¹⁰⁹ 皆樂生安; the text of the *Pen-ch'i ching* (cf. next note) has 皆樂生求安。

¹¹⁰ Quotation from *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching*, Kyōto ed. ch. II p. 239 B 1.

¹¹¹ Allusion to *Chuang-tzu* II (齊物論) p. 16: 予惡乎知惡死之非弱喪而不知歸者邪。

¹¹² Mark the Chinese conclusion: the cessation of birth is a means to attain immortality!

¹¹³ See Dharmarakṣa's version of the *Lalitavistara*, *P'u-yao ching* 善曜經, Kyōto ed. (IX.8) ch. IV, section 13, p. 725 A2, in a passage which is lacking in the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the *Lalitavistara*: 不處生死。不住泥洹。使不退轉。菩薩決無所從生。靡所不生。於諸所生。悉無所生。To the Chinese Buddhists these phrases seem to have constituted an almost proverbial description of the Bodhisattva ideal: we find it also quoted (implicitly) by Yü Fa-k'ai's *Huo-shih erh-ti lun* 惑識二誦論 (cf. above, p. 142), and by Hui-yüan in his preface to the *Yogācārabhūmi*, ("The *dhyāna-sūtra* of Dharmatrāta", 達摩多羅禪經序), *CSTCC* IX 66.1.9.

¹¹⁴ Cf. T 6 ch. I p. 181.1.21: 心識情休則不死不復生。

¹¹⁵ 種十善戒善則受生之報; the second 善 is to be deleted.

¹¹⁶ 四空 or 四空定 are the last and highest four of the twelve *dhyāna*-states (十二門), corresponding to the four immaterial spheres (*ārūpyadhātu*): (1) the state of boundless space, *ākāśānantyāyatana* 空無邊處; (2) the state of boundless consciousness, *viññānānantyāyatana* 識無邊處; (3) the state of nothingness, *ākimcanyāyatana* 無所有處; (4) the state of neither perception nor non-perception, *naivasamjñānāsamjñāyatana* 非有想非無想處。

¹¹⁷ 十八天: the eighteen heavens of form (*rūpadhātu*).

¹¹⁸ 有為, a Taoist term, in Buddhist texts regularly used for *samskṛta*. It is not clear whether here it should be interpreted in the "Taoist" or in the "Buddhist" sense. I have chosen the first alternative, in the first place because the author of the *Feng fa yao* does not seem to have been well-versed in Buddhist technical terminology, and secondly because he probably would never have made a distinction of this kind at all, merely interpreting *yu-wei* as the opposite of *wu-wei* 無為 = *Nirvāna*.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Chih Ch'ien's version of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, T 474 I 522.2.12: 又賢者彼師說。騎為道。邊際。不反佛處。為歸八難。為在眾勞不信之垢。不得離生死之道。A slightly more extensive translation in Kumārajīva's version, T 475, I, 540.3.4, and in that of Hsüan-tsang, T 476, I, 562.2.17.

¹²⁰ Also a quotation from Chih Ch'ien's version of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, T 474 I 520.1.14: 譬如有人欲度空中造立宮室。終不能成。如是童子菩薩欲度人反故。願取佛國。願取佛國者。非於空也。More detailed translation in Kumārajīva's version, T 475 I 538.1.26, and in that of Hsüan-tsang, T 476 I 559.1.23.

¹²¹ The practice of the first four *pāramitās* is "purified" by *prajñā*, which makes

one realize, at the level of absolute truth, the utter unreality of all actions, including the practice of the religious virtues of *dāna*, *śīla* etc., thus emancipating the devotee from clinging to the merit of his actions and to the objects of his devotion.

¹²² 方寸, lit. "that which is (as small as) a square inch".

¹²³ 開士 "The worthy who opens up (the truth)", an archaic translation of Bodhisattva.

¹²⁴ Allusion to *Lun-yü* IV.15.1: 吾道一以貫之.

¹²⁵ 四色 and 無朕 are obviously stylistic variations of 四大 (*mahābhūta*, the Four Great Elements) and 無我 (*nairātmya*, the absence of a permanent ego).

¹²⁶ 本際, perhaps a variation of 實際 = *bhūtaakoṣi*?

¹²⁷ 方等, *vaipulya* (sūtras), more specifically used to denote the *prajñāpāramitā* scriptures.

¹²⁸ The purport of this last sentence is not clear to me. Does the author mean to say that in the *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures the "present" is said to be as illusory as the future and the past?

¹²⁹ 立人, allusion to *Lun-yü* VI.28.2: 夫仁者己欲立而立人,己欲達而達人 here ingeniously applied to the ideal of Bodhisattvahood.

¹³⁰ 姬周, lit. "The Chou of the (ruling family named) Chi". Chi being, according to tradition, the name adopted by the first ancestor of this family, the legendary "Prince Millet", Hou-chi 后稷; cf. *Shih-chi* 4.1b. Chih Tun does not specify the date, but "the end of the Chou" no doubt refers to the end of the Western Chou (traditional dates 1122-771 BC). For Chinese speculations about the date of the Buddha's birth cf. below, p. 271 sqq.

¹³¹ Māyā belonged to the Śākya clan (Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 118), and Gautama was the common name of this *gotra*, given to all members descended from the same supposed ancestor (cf. E. J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, p. 22). Hence Chih Tun is wrong in deriving the Buddha's name from that of his mother; moreover, the appellation Gautamī mostly refers not to Māyā, but the Buddha's aunt, Mahāprajāpati.

¹³² 丕承, cf. *Shu-ching* IV.16.18 (ch. *Chün-shih* 君奭): 惟文王德丕承無疆之恤 (Couvreur p. 305: "magnopere suscipias"); *ib.* IV. 25.6 (ch. *Chün-ya* 君牙): 丕承哉武王烈 (Couvreur p. 371: "late subsecuta sunt Ou regis opera").

¹³³ 吸中和之誕化; cf. *Chung-yung* I. 4: 喜怒哀樂未發謂之中,發而皆中節謂之和. As applied to India = *Madhyadeśa* (中國), cf. *Mou-tzu* I (*HMC* I 1.3.26), trsl. Pelliot p. 291 and p. 343, note 55; see also below, p. 266. This and the next phrase form a barely recognizable description of the "four great surveys" (*catvāri mahāvīlokitāni*) made by the Bodhisattva in the Tuṣita heaven before descending into his mother's womb, as to the time (*kāla*), the continent (*dvīpa*), the country (*deśa*) and the family (*kula*) to be chosen for his last birth.

¹³⁴ Reading, with most editions, 類然. The 浩 in the Korean edition is obviously a mistake caused by the variant form 皓.

¹³⁵ 弱而能言, said about the Yellow Emperor in *Shih-chi* 1.2a (cf. also below, p. 270, where Tsung Ping uses the same *Shih-chi* passage to prove that the Yellow Emperor and other culture-heroes of the dawn of history were in reality Bodhisattvas). Here this is of course an allusion to the first words of the Buddha, the "lion's roar" he uttered immediately after his birth.

¹³⁶ Cf. *Mencius* VI A.16.1.

¹³⁷ Cf. above, note 98.

¹³⁸ 逆旅, an ancient term for a hostel or inn, cf. *Tso-chuan*, Duke Hsi 2 (*chu-shu* ed. 12.6b, Couvreur, vol. I, p. 235): 保於逆旅.

¹³⁹ 紆軫, cf. *Ch'u-tz'u*, *Chiu-chang* 九章, section 惜論: 心鬱結而紆軫; in Wang I's 王逸 commentary explained as "bent down" 屈 and "distressed" 隱.

¹⁴⁰ 區外, lit. "outside the district", probably a stylistic variation of the expression 方外, as in *Chuang-tzu* VI, ch. 大宗師, p. 44: 彼遊方之外者也: "outside all worldly limitations", "beyond this world".

141 風人 usually means "poet"; I do not see what "bard" may be meant here. Does it refer to the *deva* who according to *T'ai-tzu yung-ying pen-ch'i ching* II (Kyōtō ed. p. 235.B2), at that time the most popular source for the Buddha's early life, came to urge Siddhārtha to leave to palace?

142 大猷, cf. *Shih-ching*, Ode 198 (II.V.4.4, 巧言): 秩秩大猷, 聖人莫之。

143 有道, lit. "those who possessed the Way".

144 Allusion to the Buddha's stay with the ascetics Ārāḍa (Pāli: Ālāra) Kālāma and Udraka Rāmaputra (Pāli: Uddaka Rāmaputta) before his solitary practice of austerities during six years.

145 明發, cf. *Shih-ching*, Ode 196 (II.V.2.1, 小宛): 明發不寐, 有懷二人。

146 無待, cf. *Chuang-tzu* I (逍遙遊) p. 3: 猶有所待者也。... *Ch'ing-chü* 輕舉, "to rise lightly", is commonly said of Taoist immortals; for another case in which it is used in a Buddhist sense, cf. above, p. 149 (letter of Tao-i).

147 抗志非石, cf. *Shih-ching*, Ode 26 (I.III.1.3, 柏舟): 我心匪石, 不可轉也。

148 Allusion to two *Lun-yü* passages: IV. 2, 仁者安仁, 知者利仁, and VI.23, 知者樂水, 仁者樂山。

149 The vow not to leave the seat before having attained Enlightenment. In the narrative we have already reached the "place of Enlightenment" (*bodhimāṇḍa*, 道場).

150 Reading, with the Yüan and Ming editions, 併。... *Yün* 運 is redundant and breaks the parallelism.

151 This passage is obviously a description of the *ānāpānasmr̥ti*, but the details are far from clear. The 四善 may refer to the four "operations" of this respiratory technique as described in Saṅgharakṣa's *Yogācārabhūmi* (cf. P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, p. 414; these are actually five out of a series of six operations mentioned elsewhere (e.g., T 618 I 306.1.26 sqq.; *Abh. Kośa* VI 154-155), viz. nrs. 1, 2, 4 and a combination of 5 and 6 of the six operations (1) "counting", *gaṇanā* 數; (2) "following", *anugama* 隨; (3) "staying", *sthāna* 止; (4) "observing", *upalakṣaṇā* 觀; (5) "turning", *vivartanā* 轉; (6) "purification", *parisuddhi* 淨). In the early and very popular Buddha-biographies, the *Hsiu-hsing pen-ch'i ching* (Kyōtō ed. ch. II, p. 231A1) and the *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching* (Kyōtō ed. ch. I, p. 237A1) we also find the series of six: 一數二隨三止四觀五還六淨. This may be the source of Chih Tun's 二隨, 三止 etc. in the following phrases. But from the way in which these terms are used and from the fact that in this parallel style they are made to match expressions like 四善, 五陰, 六情 and 五內, it would appear that Chih Tun believed these to mean "the two 隨", "the three" 止, "the four 觀", as in the translation. Hence 逆送, parallel with 二隨: "speeding (the exhalation) and welcoming (the inhalation)"? "Easily tracing its circuit": tentative translation of the obscure 簡述; the *anugama* operation consists of "following" the breath as far as possible inside and outside the body. I do not know what is meant by the 八記.

152 五陰. For the use of the word *yin* to render *skandha* cf. above, note 40.

153 還府, "sent back to the (magistrate's) office", apparently a metaphor borrowed from official life.

154 六情, cf. above, note 46.

155 五內 seems to be a variant of 五根, the five faculties (*pañcendriyāni*), the material bases of sensory perception: eye, ear, nose, tongue and body (as the "organ" of touch). "The five intestines", which is the common meaning of 五內, seems hardly appropriate here.

156 太素, cf. the cosmogony described in *Lieh-tzu* I (ch. 天瑞) p. 2: 太初者, 氣之始也, 太始者, 形之始也, 太素者, 質之始也。

157 七住, the seventh stage (*bhūmi*) of the Bodhisattva career, which according to some sources is the "critical" stage during which the Bodhisattva obtains the "equanimity towards the non-origination of *dharmas*" (無生法忍, *anutpattika-dharmakṣānti*) and is released from the material body (肉身, *māmsakāya*), instead of which he is endowed with a "body born from the *dharmadhātu*" 法性生身,

dharmadhātujakāya). This is in accordance with the doctrine of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (cf. e.g., *Fang-kuang ching*, T 221 ch. XIV p. 27.3.9; Kumārajīva's version of the 25,000 *p'p'*, T 223 ch. VI p. 257.2.14; *Ta-chih-tu lun*, T 1509 ch. X p. 132.1.25 = Lamotte, *Traité* p. 588; *ib.* ch. XXIX, p. 273.2.17; Seng-chao's commentary on the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, 注維摩詰經 T 1775 ch. VI p. 382.2.15). This was certainly also the opinion of Chih Tun. According to him the actual Enlightenment took place at the seventh stage, as appears from a phrase in an eulogistic "biography" of Chih Tun (支法師傳, probably by Hsi Ch'ao, quoted in *SSHY comm.* IB/20a); it is highly interesting to note that the author in this connection uses the term "Sudden Enlightenment": 法師研十地則知頓悟於七住. 尋莊周則辯聖人之通達. From the parallelism it would appear as if the 十住 refers to the title of a scripture, but this is not necessary. The *Daśabhūmika* can certainly not be meant, not only because as far as we know it was not accessible to the Chinese of the time of Chih Tun, but also because in this scripture the "critical stage" is placed in the 8th *bhūmi*, called *Acalā* 不動 = (cf. *Daśabhūmika* VIII B p. 64, trsl. Kumārajīva T 286 ch. III p. 521.2-522.1; *Bodhisattvabhūmi* p. 348.18; L. de la Vallée Poussin, "Carrière du Bodhisattva" (app. *Siddhi*), p. 736; S. Lévi, *Sūtrālamkāra* vol. II, p. 123, note).

¹⁵⁸ The 六絕 seems to refer to the six *pāramitā*.

¹⁵⁹ Allusion to the famous metaphor in *Chuang-tzu* XXVI (ch. 外物) p. 181, often used in Chinese Buddhist literature to elucidate the expedient nature of the doctrine: 筌者所以在魚,得魚而忘筌. . . . 言者所以在意,得意而忘言.

¹⁶⁰ 齒既立: an allusion to *Lun-yü* II.4.2: 三十而立; hence literally: "when in years he had arrived at the age when his mind had been 'firmly set'", i.e., at the age of thirty.

¹⁶¹ 翳, as a Buddhist technical term = *vāsanā*.

¹⁶² 生知, allusion to *Lun-yü* XVI.9: 生而知之者上也.

¹⁶³ 五濁, the five *kaśāya* "sediments", impurities, always referring to the evils of a *kalpa* in its phase of decay: (short) duration of human life (*āyuh-kaśāya* 命濁); (wrong) views (*drṣṭi-k.*, 見); depravities (*kleśa-k.*, 煩惱); (misery of) beings (*sattva-k.*, 眾生); (degeneration of) the eon (*kalpa-k.*, 劫); cf. *Mvy* 2335-2340.

¹⁶⁴ The first six of the standard list of seven Buddhas, of which Śākyamuni is the last one: Vipaśyin, Śikhin, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa. The first three do not belong to the present cosmic period (*bhadrakalpa*) but lived in the preceding eon (*Vyūhakalpa*); cf. *Hōbōgirin* s.v. *Butsu*, p. 195-196.

¹⁶⁵ Or, reading 徵 instead of 徹, "in order to prove their tradition".

¹⁶⁶ 丈六: the normal height of the Buddha in his *nirmānakāya*.

¹⁶⁷ 啓度黃中; tentative translation. In view of the context we should expect something which refers to the body of the Buddha. The meaning "yellow inner (garments)", as in the *I-ching*, second hexagram, 君子黃中通理, makes no sense here, nor does the variant reading 中黃. We might suppose that 黃中 is a mistake for 黃鐘 which is said to have been the basic measure from which all other measures were derived, cf. e.g., *HS* 21A.15b: "The measures of length . . . arose originally from the length of the *huang-chung* . . . ; The measures of capacity . . . arose originally from (the contents of) the *huang-chung* . . . ; the weights . . . arose originally from the weight of the *huang-chung* (trsl. H. H. Dubs, *HFHD* I p. 276-277). If this would be true, then the phrase might be translated as "he displayed the proportions (of the *Buddhakāya* which was in accordance with) the *huang-chung*". But this is, after all, not very likely in view of the considerable difference in pronunciation of the characters 中 and 鐘 in Ancient Chinese (中 = *tʃung versus 鐘 = *dʒʷong).

¹⁶⁸ The "golden colour" (*suvarṇa-varṇa*) of the Buddha is one of his 32 characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*).

¹⁶⁹ *Shu-hu* 倏忽, cf. *Ch'u-tz'u*, *T'ien-wen*: 倏忽焉在, explained by Wang I as "lightning" (actually "the fast one"?). Cf. also *Ch'u-tz'u*, *Chiu-ko* 九歌, section

Shao ssu-ming: 倏而來兮忽而逝. In *Chuang-tzu* VII (ch. 應帝王) p. 51, *Shu* "the fast one" and *Hu* "the quick one" figure as two imaginary rulers.

¹⁷⁰ 八音, the eight qualities of the Buddha's voice (beautiful, flexible, harmonious, not effeminate etc.). Various lists, cf. *Hōbōgirin* s.v. *Bonnon*, p. 133-135, and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten* p. 4204. "Being endowed with a brahma-voice" (梵音, *brahma-svarah*) is, moreover, one of the thirty-two *lakṣaṇa* of the Buddha.

¹⁷¹ Allusion to the Buddha's "halo of one fathom" (文光, *vyāmaprabhā*) which always surrounds his body and which is one of the thirty-two *lakṣaṇa*, or to the dazzling light which is manifested by the Buddha at important occasions in his life (his birth, his enlightenment, the revelation of various *sūtras* etc.) and which spreads through the whole universe.

¹⁷² 未光, cf. *Tao te ching* 20: 我獨怕兮其未光.

¹⁷³ Cf. *I-ching*, hexagram 1: 六明終始. 六位時成.

¹⁷⁴ 曲成, cf. *I-ching*, *Hsi-tz'u* I, p. 3a: 曲成萬物而不遺; comm. by Han Po: 曲成者. 乘變以應物. 不係一方者也.

¹⁷⁵ 三五; abbreviation of 三皇五帝, the legendary rulers of the most distant past.

¹⁷⁶ 太虛, as in *Chuang-tzu* XXII (ch. 知北遊) p. 143: 是以不過乎寬濶. 不遊乎太虛; cf. Sun Ch'o 孫綽, *Yu T'ien-t'ai fu* 遊天台山賦 (*Wen-hsüan* XI.224): 太虛遶廓而無闌, comm. by Li Shan: 太虛. 天也.

¹⁷⁷ 二儀, actually denoting *yin* and *yang*.

¹⁷⁸ 易簡, cf. *I-ching*, *Hsi-tz'u* I p. 1b: 乾以易知. 坤以簡能.

¹⁷⁹ 大和, cf. *I-ching* hex. 1, *t'uan*: 保合大和乃利貞.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. *I-ching*, hexagram 26, *t'uan*: 日新其德 and *Ta-hsüeh* II.1 苟日新. 日日新. Here in a different application, referring to the momentariness of all existence.

¹⁸¹ 美既青而青藍 "His excellence being (by itself) already like (the refined, true) blue, he (refined and) made (true) blue the (inferior nature of men which might be compared to coarse) indigo"; based on the well-known proverb 青出於藍 (而勝於藍) "blue comes from indigo (but it excels indigo)", mostly referring to a disciple who surpasses his master. Here rather "to improve one's nature by study", as in the *Hsün-tzu* passage which is the source of the proverb, *Hsün-tzu* I p. 1: 青取之於藍而青 於藍. 冰水為之而寒於水, H. H. Dubs' translation p. 31.

¹⁸² Probably the same misunderstanding as in *Mou-tzu* who speaks about the "840 millions of *chüan*" of the Buddhist canon 八億四千萬卷, where 億 must be interpreted as "a hundred million", cf. Pelliot, *TP* XIX (1920) p. 343 note 56. In both cases the number is based on the tradition of the 84,000 articles or sections of the doctrine (*caturāṣīti-dharmaskandha-sahasrāṇi*) of the Tripiṭaka, cf. H. Kern in his translation of the *Saddharmapundarika* (Oxford, 1909), p. 241, note.

¹⁸³ 三無. I have been unable to find this expression in the *Tao-hsing* (*ching*) (T 224). I suppose that Chih Tun alludes to the emptiness (無) of all *dharmas* in the three times (present, past, future), the basic message of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, repeated in endless variations throughout this kind of literature.

¹⁸⁴ 曾玄, 曾 being used for 增.

¹⁸⁴ 暘谷, cf. *Shu-ching*, *Yao-tien*: 分命羲和宅嵎夷曰暘谷.

¹⁸⁶ The first notes of the ancient pentatonic scale of Chinese music.

¹⁸⁷ 希夷 is an allusion to *Tao te ching* 14: 視之不見名曰夷. 聽之不聞名曰希. Fu Hsi is here mentioned as the reputed inventor of the eight trigrams on which the symbols of the *I-ching* are said to be based.

¹⁸⁸ 皇軒, i.e., Hsien Yüan 軒轅, the name of the Yellow Emperor.

¹⁸⁹ 鄒魯: Mencius and Confucius, who were born in these states.

¹⁹⁰ 從心, an expression meaning seventy years of age; derived from *Lun-yü* II.4.6: 七十而從心所欲不踰矩.

¹⁹¹ 忍土, translation of *sahā-lokadhātu*, "the realm of endurance", the name of the world-system in which we live.

¹⁹² For the transcription *wei-wei* = *Kapilavastu* cf. below, p. 301.

¹⁰³ Probably an allusion to the last words of the Buddha in which he declared that "all conditioned things are perishable".

¹⁰⁴ "Six ferries": the six "fords" symbolizing the *pāramitā* in this metaphorical passage.

¹⁰⁵ Hīnayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna, Mahāyāna.

¹⁰⁶ This series of metaphors about the Buddha's death seem un-Chinese in spirit and style. On the other hand they do not correspond to the stereotyped Indian images symbolizing this event: the lamp of the doctrine (*dharmapradīpa*) which has gone out, the eye of the world (*lokacakṣus*) which has been closed, the tree of the doctrine (*dharmaṅkṣa*) which has fallen down etc.

¹⁰⁷ 兼忘天下易, 便天下兼忘難, cf. above, note 107. This is virtually the end of Chih Tun's sketch of the Buddha's life. In the last lines of his preface, not translated here, Chih Tun expresses his grief at not being able to meet the Buddha, and declares to have written an eulogy on Śākyamuni in order to show his feelings of reverence. Then follows the eulogy itself, which is both uninformative and unreadable.

CHAPTER FOUR

¹ A. F. Wright, "Fo-t'u-teng, a Biography", in *HJAS* XI, 1948, p. 321-371.

² *History*, p. 187-228 and 242-251.

³ Ui Hakuju 宇井伯壽, *Shaku Dōan kenkyū* 釋道安研究, Tōkyō 1956; a special study on several aspects of Tao-an's career by Arthur E. Link (University of Michigan) has been announced by the author (*TP* XLVI, 1958, p. 2); a critical translation of Tao-an's biography in *KSC* V 351.3 sqq.—the main source for history of his life—has been published in *TP* XLVI, 1958, p. 1-48. For a comparison between Tao-an's biographies in *KSC* and *CSTCC* see A. E. Link, "Remarks on Shih Seng-yu's *Ch'u san-tsang chi chi* as a source for Hui-chiao's *Kao-seng chuan* as evidenced in two versions of the biography of Tao-an", *Oriens* X (1957), p. 292-295.

⁴ Cf. below, note 121.

⁵ *KSC* IX 384.2; trsl. Wright p. 346.

⁶ Apart from Tao-an and Chu Fa-ya who have their own biographies in *CSTCC* and *KSC*, the following Chinese disciples are mentioned in Fo-t'u-teng's biography: Fa-shou 法首 (trsl. Wright p. 341: "otherwise unknown", but cf. below, p. 183), Fa-tso 法佐 and 法祚 (cf. ch. II, note 272), Fa-ch'ang 法常 and Seng-hui 僧慧 (not mentioned elsewhere). Fo-t'iao 佛調 ("Buddhadeva") and Hsü-p'u-t'i 須菩提 ("Subhūti") are mentioned as monks who came "from India and Sogdiana"; Chu 竺 Fo-t'iao has a short biography in *KSC* IX 387.3, but there nothing is said about his alleged non-Chinese origin. Cf. below, p. 182.

⁷ *KSC* IX 384.2.25; trsl. Wright p. 346. Here and in other quotations from Fo-t'u-teng's biography I follow the excellent translation by A. F. Wright.

⁸ Fo-t'u-teng's biography mentions the Kuan-ssu 官寺 ("official" or "government" temple? cf. Wright, p. 343 note 21) and the Chung-ssu 中寺. After 335 Fo-t'u-teng stayed with his disciples at the Chung-ssu at Yeh (*HSC* IX 384.3.8; Wright p. 347 note 43), and in Tao-an's biography (*KSC* V 351.3.15) Tao-an is also stated to have joined Fo-t'u-teng at the Chung-ssu. A. E. Link, in his "Biography of Shih Tao-an", *TP* XLVI, 1958, p. 7, renders Chung-ssu as "Central Temple", but it is preferable to interpret it as "The temple (or monastery) inside", i.e., the Palace Monastery. We might even go farther and suppose that *kuan-ssu* 官寺, the name of one of the monasteries at Yeh, is a corruption of *kung-ssu* 宮寺, 官 and 宮 being of course easily confused with each other. A "Palace Temple" especially sponsored by the members of the ruling Chieh family is, in view of all we know about Buddhism at Hsiang-kuo and Yeh, much more probable than an "Official Temple" with its "bureaucratic" associations. It is true that the *Fa-yüan chu-lin* (ch. XIV, T 1222 p. 388.1.14) mentions a bronze statue of the time of Shih Hu, which bore the inscription "Made

by the monks of the *kuan-ssu* Fa-hsin and Tao-hsing in the sixth year *chien-wu* (340 AD), the year (with the cyclical signs) *keng-tzu*", but the author does not appear to have seen the statue which miraculously manifested itself in 437 AD, and, in general, the reports of early Buddhist authors about inscribed statues etc. are very unreliable.

⁹ See for Shih Hu's megalomaniac building projects and his display of luxury *Yeh-chung chi*, p. 10a; for a curious description of a Buddha statue surrounded by moving puppets representing *śramaṇas* see *ib.*, p. 10a of the *Wen-ying-tien chü-chien pan ts'ung-shu* edition.

¹⁰ Biography in *KSC* IX 387.2 and *CS* 97, translated by M. Soympié, "Biographie de Chan Tao-k'ai", in *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises*, I (1957), p. 414-422.

¹¹ Cf. above, note 6.

¹² On the "dissolution of the body" of the Taoist immortal (尸解) see e.g., *Pao-p'u tzu* II p. 6, and H. Maspero, "Les procédés de 'nourrir le principe vital' dans la religion taoïste ancienne", *J.As.* 1937, p. 177-152 and 353-430, esp. p. 178 sqq., and *Le Taoïsme*, p. 84, 85, 196, 218.

¹³ *CS* 107.1b: 胡運將衰。晉當復興。宜苦役晉人。以厭其氣。

¹⁴ Cf. A. F. Wright, *op.cit.*, p. 325: "... and, had he reached there at a less disturbed time, he would no doubt have become a great translator and exegete"; Arthur E. Link, *op.cit.*, p. 7 note 6: "Judging from the studies pursued by the disciples of Fo-t'u-teng, it would seem that the latter's specialization lay in the *Prajñā-pāramitā* literature".

¹⁵ *CS* 106.4 a-b.

¹⁶ Cf. Tao-an's 比丘大戒序, *CSTCC* XI 80.2.1, in which, when speaking about the incompleteness of the monastic rules in China in earlier times, he says: 至澄和上 (i.e., Fo-t'u-teng) 多所正焉。余昔在鄴。少習其

¹⁷ Cf. the biographies of the nuns Ching-chien 淨賢 and An Ling-shou 安令首, *PCNC* I 934.3-935.1; A. F. Wright, "Biography of the Nun An Ling-shou", *HJAS* XV (1952) p. 193-197.

¹⁸ *KSC* V 351.3.3.

¹⁹ Colophon on the 聖法印經, *CSTCC* VII 50.2.4 and 51.1.27. In *CS* 107.9a (biography of Jan Min 冉閔) it is told how a certain monk Fa-jao 法饒 made a false prediction as to the issue of Jan Min's decisive battle with Yen (precisely the kind of prognostication practised before by Fo-t'u-teng) at Yeh in 352 AD. This name is identical with the Chinese translation given for Fu-ju-t'an 弗如檀, the name of the disciple who in 282 AD brought the Sanskrit text of the 25,000 p'p' from Khotan to Loyang (cf. ch. II, note 201), but in view of the dates it is highly improbable that the same monk is meant, although the name Fa-jao is unusual. For the—in our view untenable—hypothesis of Maspero which identifies Fo-t'u-teng's disciple Fa-tso with Po Fa-tso 弗法祚, the brother of Po Yüan, cf. above, ch. II note 272.

²⁰ In Fo-t'u-teng's biography, *KSC* IX 387.1 (Wright p. 367), he is said to have come from Chung-shan 中山, the modern Ting 定 hsien, Hopei.

²¹ From Chung-shan; biography in *KSC* IV 347.1, cf. also above, ch. II note 204.

²² *KSC* IV (biography of Chu Fa-ya), p. 347.1. Cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 235 sqq. and Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, *Shina bukk'yōshi kenkyū* 支那佛教研究 (Tōkyō 1942) p. 25 sqq.

²³ *KSC* V (biography of Shih Seng-kuang 釋僧光, var. 先) 355.1.25; trsl. A. E. Link in *TP* XLVI (1958), p. 43.

²⁴ In his *Yü i lun* 喻疑論, *CSTCC* V. 41.2.12, trsl. Liebenenthal p. 90. The reading 格義 occurs only in the Ming edition; the other versions have 裕義.

²⁵ *CSTCC* XIV (biogr. of Kumārajīva) 101.2.15 (支竺所出多滯文格義), cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 237-238.

²⁶ Seng-lang is not said to have studied under Fo-t'u-teng in his biography in

KSC V 354.2 or in that of Fo-t'u-teng, but he is stated to have been one of the latter's disciples in *Shui-ching chu*, ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien VIII.13a-b; cf. also Miyagawa Hisayuki 宮川尚志 "Shin no Taizan Jiku Sōrō no jiseki" 晋の泰山竺僧朗の事蹟, *Tōyōshi kenkyū* III, p. 184-209; cf. also next note.

²⁷ The only date given in his biography is 351 AD, the year in which he settled at the T'ai-shan. However, other documents pertaining to Seng-lang allow us approximately to define his dates. In *KHMC XXXV* we find a series of ten complimentary letters which, judging from their contents, accompanied the presents sent to Seng-lang by some contemporary rulers of the various Northern and Southern states, together with Seng-lang's very diplomatic answers. If these letters are authentic (their remarkable uniformity in style and wordings seems somewhat suspect) they form a highly interesting example of the way in which this famous priest was courted by several rulers, all of whom apparently tried to win his favour and to employ him (a fact which is confirmed by his biography). The letters bear the names of the following monarchs: (1) T'o-pa Kuei 拓跋珪, since 386 king of Wei, emperor since 398, died 409 AD; (2) Ssu-ma Ch'ang-ming 司馬昌明, *i.e.*, the Chin emperor Hsiao-wu, reigned 376-396 (the fact that he is referred to by his personal name may indicate that these letters were actually compiled and published in the North, where the Eastern Chin rulers were considered "illegitimate"); (3) Fu Chien 苻堅, emperor of the Former Ch'in, reigned 357-384; (4) Mu-jung Ch'ui 慕容垂, emperor of the Southern Yen, reigned 400-405; (6) Yao Hsing 姚興, emperor of the later Ch'in, reigned 394-416. The letter of Mu-jung Te with Seng-lang's reply obviously constitutes a *terminus post quem* for Seng-lang's death which must have taken place after 400 AD, at which date he was still living at the T'ai-shan, some fifty years after his first arrival there. On the other hand he is stated to have died at the age of 84, so that the dates of his life may approximately be fixed at 315-400 AD, perhaps a few years later.

²⁸ Biography of Shih Fa-ho in *KSC V* p. 354.1; that of Chu Seng-fu *ib.* p. 355.2; Chih T'an-chiang mentioned in Tao-an's preface to the 陰持入經 (*CSTCC VI* 45.1.8) and in Tao-an's biography in *KSC V* 351.3 (講 here a copyists' mistake for 講講, a common type of error, not necessarily a misunderstanding on the part of Hui-chiao; cf. A. E. Link, *op. cit.*, p. 11 note 4.)

²⁹ The *KSC* places Tao-an's activities at Huo-tse, Fei-lung shan, Heng-shan and Wu-i after the fall of Shih Hu and before Shih Tsun's 石遵 request to enter the Hua-lin yüan 華林苑 which was enlarged by him and probably changed into a monastery. This would mean that all these peregrinations took place in less than one year (349 AD), which is obviously impossible, as has been clearly demonstrated by Tang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 194. Ui (*op. cit.*, p. 6) proposes to place the whole Huo-tse period before Tao-an became Fo-t'u-teng's disciple, *i.e.*, between his ordination (ca. 331 acc. to Ui) and his arrival at Yeh (in or shortly after 335). The *KSC* biography does say that Tao-an's first (unknown) master "Gave him the full ordination (*upasampadā*) and allowed him to travel for study", and since the full ordination was generally obtained at the age of ca. 19 years, there may have been a period of some five years of which nothing is reported in Tao-an's biographies. However, we see no reason to fill this blank by transposing the Huo-tse period from ca. 349 to ca. 330. In fact, we do not know anything definite about Tao-an's youth except the usual biographical data (original surname, family, place of origin) given in the opening line of his biography; the anecdotes about his extraordinary ability in memorizing texts are, of course, of very doubtful historicity. On the other hand, it remains obscure why Shih Tsun had to invite Tao-an to come to the newly constructed monastery in the Hua-lin yüan at Yeh—this seems to imply that Tao-an was not living at Yeh in 349 AD but had retired to some safer place before, unless the text merely means to say that Tao-an was invited to come over from one monastery at Yeh to the other one built or enlarged by the emperor. Nothing is further known about Shih Tsun's building activities in this field; the Hua-lin park itself had been

the result of one of Shih Hu's enormous construction projects. It had been laid out shortly after 347, when 160,000 people were commandeered to transport the earth needed for it (*Yeh-chung chi* p. 5a, CS 107.1b). In this summary account of Tao-an's early years we follow the chronology proposed by T'ang Yung-t'ung (*History*, p. 195 and 197-200) which is still the most satisfactory.

³⁰ KSC V 351.3.28 (Link, *op.cit.*, p. 12-13): 於太行恆山創立寺塔改服 (“changed their garments”, i.e., “became monks”) 從化者中分河北。

³¹ KSC V (biography of Chu Fa-t'ai) 354.3.5; in Tao-an's biography in KSC and in the *Ch'in-shu* 秦書 by Chü P'in 車頻 (ca. 440 AD, quoted in *SSHY comm.* IIB/14b) the number of Fa-t'ai's disciples is not indicated.

³² According to his biography in KSC V 354.1.19, he went with his disciples to Shu “during the troubles of the Shih clan”, i.e., already in 349 AD, but cf. the biography of Tao-an, KSC V p. 352.1.14 (trsl. Link p. 15).

³³ Tao-an's commentary to An Shih-kao's *Jen-pen-yü-sheng ching* 人本欲生經 has been preserved. (T 1693, in one chüan, preface *ib.* and in *CSTCC* VI 4.5.1). *CSTCC* contains furthermore the following prefaces to his early commentaries: 道地經序 (*CSTCC* X 69.1); 陰持入經序, *ib.* VI 44.2; 安般注序, *ib.* 43.3; 了本生死經序, *ib.* 45.2; 十二門經序, *ib.* 45.2; 大十二門經序, *ib.* 46.1; 十法句義[經]序, *ib.* X 70.1. For Tao-an's literary works in general see Ui, *op.cit.*, p. 52-63; Ui does not include the 漸備經十住梵名并書序, indicated in *CSTCC* IX 6.2.1 as “anonymous”, but in view its of contents no doubt written by Tao-an during his Hsiang-yang period, cf. below, p. 196.

³⁴ *CSTCC* X 70.1.20 sqq. On this work cf. Ui, *op.cit.*, p. 102.

³⁵ Lit. “the throat and bosom”.

³⁶ For a specimen of Tao-an's style see Arthur E. Link, “Shy Daw-an's Preface to the *Yogācārabhūmi-sūtra* and the Problem of Buddhō-Taoist Terminology in Early Chinese Buddhism”, *JAOS* 77 (1957) p. 1-14. A good example of rhetorical juggling with the “numbers” is furnished by his preface to the *Jen-pen yü-sheng ching*, *CSTCC* VI 45.1.

³⁷ *History*, p. 247-249.

³⁸ An example from his preface to the *An-pan shou-i ching* (*CSTCC* VI 43.3.8 sqq.): “By the different steps (= the six operations of *ānāpāna*) one ‘diminishes and diminishes again until one reaches the point of non-activity’ (*Tao-te ching* 48); by the various degrees (= the four stages of *dhyāna*) one forgets and forgets again until one reaches the point of ‘having no desire’ (*Tao te ching* 1). Because of (this state of) ‘non-activity’ there will be no circumstances that do not suit (one's purpose); because of (this state of) ‘having no desire’ there will be no matters which do not succeed. As there are no circumstances which do not suit (one's purpose), one is able ‘to open up (the understanding of) beings’ (*I-ching*, *Hsi-tz'u* I, p. 26b); as there are no matters which do not succeed, one is able ‘to complete the task’ (of Enlightenment) (*I-ching*, *ib.*). From him who has ‘completed the task’ the myriad (phenomena of) Being naturally become separated (自彼), and one who has ‘opened up the beings’ causes ‘the whole world to forget himself’ (*Chuangtzu*, XIV, p. 88)”. See also Tao-an's *hsüan-hsüeh*-like description of *nirōdha-samāpatti* in his commentary on the *Jen-pen-yü-sheng ching*, T 1693 p. 9.1.20.

³⁹ Tao-an himself says in his 合放光无讚略解序 (*CSTCC* VII 48.1.19) that he had formerly obtained one section of Dharmarakṣa's version of the 25,000 *p'p'* when he lived “in Chao 趙 and Wei 魏” (roughly: Shansi and N. Honan). Hui-yüan is said to have been converted to Buddhism by listening to Tao-an's explanation of the *Prajñāpāramitā* at Mt. Heng in 354 AD (*KSC* VI, biography of Hui-yüan, p. 358.1.2).

⁴⁰ See e.g., his 大十二門經序, *CSTCC* VI 46.2.8.

⁴¹ See his prefaces to the 人本欲生經 (*CSTCC* VI 45.1) and to the 十二門經 (*ib.* 45.2).

⁴² See the [成因緣經] 鼻奈耶序 by Tao-an (T 1464, preface, p. 815.1.9): 經流桑土有自來矣。隨天竺沙門所持來之經。過而便出。於十二部 (the "twelve classes" of Buddhist scriptures) 毘曰羅 (vaipulya, c.q. the *Prajñāpāramitā*) 部最多。以斯邦人 莊老教行。與方等 (vaipulya) 經兼忘相似。故因風易行也。

⁴³ Cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung's emendation of the passage from the *Meisōdeshō* which states that Tao-an founded the T'an-ch'i ssu at the age of 52 (Chinese counting, i.e., in 364 AD); T'ang reads "fifty-three" (i.e., in 365 AD), the very year of Tao-an's arrival at Hsiang-yang (*History*, p. 196).

⁴⁴ Cf. *MSCC* 5.5a. For 檀 = "rosewood" cf. A. E. Link, *TP XLVI* (1958) p. 19 note 4. However, Mr. E. H. Schafer, quoted in this note, is wrong in supposing that the name *chan-tan* 栴檀 only appears in literature with the meaning "sandalwood" in 454 AD: it occurs in this sense already in *SSHY* IB/18b in a *bon mot* pronounced by Chih Tun to Chu Tao-ch'ien at Chienk'ang, during the latter's stay at the capital, i.e., shortly after 362 AD (cf. above, p. 149). In translated scriptures the term occurs much earlier, e.g., already in the late second century *Pan-chou san-mei ching*, T 417 p. 900.1.19 = T 418 p. 907.1.19.

⁴⁵ *KSC* V 352.2.8; Link, *op.cit.*, p. 20. "Sixteen feet" 丈六, cf. above, ch. III, note 166 of the Appendix.

⁴⁶ *KHMC* XV 198.2. For this miraculous statue cf. also *KHMC* XV 202.2.27 and *Fa-yüan chu-lin*, T 2122, XIII 384.2. According to the latter (much legendarized) account, the image represented Amitābha.

⁴⁷ As Mr. Link remarks (*op.cit.*, p. 21, note 4), this 金箔倚像 very probably refers to what is commonly called 卧佛, i.e., a representation of the Buddha's *parinirvāna*. As far as I know this is the second mention of such a statue in Chinese literature, the earliest one being found in *SSHY* IA/32b reporting the words spoken by Yü Liang 庾亮 (died 340 AD) when he saw a "reclining Buddha" 卧佛 in a temple: "This man is exhausted by being a ford and a bridge (for mankind)" 此子疲於津梁. For another mid. 4th century representation of the *parinirvāna* (a mural painting?) cf. *SSHY* IA/35b.

⁴⁸ Cf. the letter of Hsi Ts'o-ch'ih, quoted below: "Teachers and pupils number several hundred . . .", and Tao-an's 漸備經十住梵名并書叙, *CSTCC* IX 62.3.8: 襄陽時齊僧有三百人……

⁴⁹ *KSC* V 352.3.22, Link *op.cit.*, p. 27.

⁵⁰ For a discussion of the contents of these rules see T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 213-217 and Ui, *op.cit.*, p. 24-27.

⁵¹ Shih Fa-yü 釋法遇, who in 379 settled at Chiang-ling and who because of his negligence in maintaining the monastic discipline among his pupils received from Tao-an—then living at Ch'angan—a tube filled with a branch of thorns as a token that he deserved punishment, which Fa-yü is said respectfully to have undergone. See his biography in *KSC* V 356.1, translated by A. E. Link, *op.cit.*, (Appendix B), p. 45-47.

⁵² 陰陽 "(the arts of) *yin* and *yang*" comprise several branches of pseudo-science; the translation "soothsaying" (Link, *op.cit.*, p. 26) is too specific.

⁵³ Most editions have 法蘭. If the reading 法蘭 of the Korean edition (corroborated by *CSTCC* XV 108.2) is correct, this Fa-lan no doubt refers to Yü Fa-lan (above, p. 140), not to the probably legendary Chu 竺 Fa-lan of the first century AD (cf. A. E. Link, *op.cit.*, p. 26 note 2).

⁵⁴ Not known from other sources. *CSTCC*, *loc.cit.*, gives Fa-tsu 法祖, which probably refers to Po Yüan 帛遠 (*tzu* Fa-tsu), for whom see above, p. 76.

⁵⁵ *KSC* V 352.3.10 sqq.; *CSTCC* XV 108.2.12; trsl. Link, *op.cit.*, p. 25-26.

⁵⁶ *KSC* V 352.1.14: 彼多君子好向匡流; variant reading in Chü P'in's 車頻 *Ch'in-shu* 桑書 quoted in *SSHY* *comm.* IIB/14b: 彼多君子上膳可投。

⁵⁷ Quoted in Tao-an's biography, *KSC* V 352.2-3 (trsl. Link p. 22-24); complete text reproduced in *HMC* XII 76.3.

⁵⁸ KSC V 352.3.5; CSTCC XV 108.2.8: "As soon as they were seated, (*Hsi*) said: 'Hsi Ts'o-ch'ih of (the whole realm) within the Four Seas!' 四海習鑿荃, to which Tao-an replied 'Shih Tao-an who fills Heaven!' 彌天釋道安". T'ang Yung-t'ung regards this story as apocryphal (*History*, p. 206), but his argument (*viz.*, that the term "filling Heaven" 彌天 occurs in the letter of Hsi Ts'o-ch'ih, cf. previous note, and therefore the whole anecdote would be an elaboration of this theme) is not convincing. In the first place Tao-an had just received Hsi Ts'o-ch'ih's letter, and his repartee may have been intended as an allusion to this letter. In the second place, the curious way of introducing oneself by an exchange of *bons mots* was practised in *ch'ing-t'an* circles as early as the end of the third century. We read *e.g.*, in *Shih-shuo hsün-yü* III B/4b how the famous *ch'ing-t'an* adept Lu Yün 陸雲 (*tsu* Shih-lung 士龍, "scholar-dragon", 262-303 AD) met the young Hsün Yin 荀隱 (*tsu* Ming-hao 鳴鶴, "singing crane") at the home of Chang Hua 張華 (232-300 AD). "Lu raised his hand and said: 'Lu Shih-lung from among the clouds!' 雲間陸士龍. Hsün retorted: 'Hsün Ming-hao from under the sun!' 日下荀鳴鶴", after which the two debaters go on exchanging puns on each other's names. The same story occurs also in Lu Yün's biography in CS 54.9a in identical words.

⁵⁹ Cf. KSC VI, biography of Hui-yüan, p. 358.1.17: 道安為朱序所拘,不能得去.

⁶⁰ KSC V 352.2.4 (trsl. Link p. 18-19). In KSC Huan Huo is mentioned as General Chastiser of the West 征西將軍, a title which he obtained in 373 AD (CS 9.4a); he died in 377 (CS 9.5b).

⁶¹ KSC V, biography of Shih T'an-i 釋曇翼, p. 355.3.8; cf. also below, p. 199. For the different ways in which the name of the prefect is written in various sources and editions see T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 203. We give the form T'eng Han, which is that occurring in CS 57.2b, in the Korean edition of the KSC and in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XIII 385.1.15. In the latter work the event is dated "second year *yung-ho*" 永和 (346 AD), but this is no doubt a mistake for "second year *t'ai-ho*" 太和 (367 AD).

⁶² CSTCC V 40.1 among the works of Tao-an: 答沙 (*sic!*) 汰難二卷, 答竺法將難一卷, where 沙 is obviously a mistake for 法. In the table of contents of Lu Ch'eng's *Fa-lun* (CSTCC XII 83.2. and 84.3) we find furthermore the titles of three letters written to Tao-an by Chu Fa-t'ai (inquiring after the meaning of the Three Vehicles 三乘, the six *abhijñā* 六通, and "the spirit" 神, respectively). The same source mentions a letter to Tao-an by Fu Hsüan-tu 伏玄度, *i.e.*, Fu T'ao 伏滔, a well-known magistrate and historian, who in the *t'ai-yüan* era (376-396) was active in various functions at the court at Ch'ienkang. But his contact with Tao-an dates probably from the period 373-377 AD, when he was in the personal service of Huan Huo at Chiang-ling (cf. note 60), see his biography in CS 92.18b.

⁶³ See his 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序 (written at Ch'angan in 382 AD, CSTCC VIII 52.2.10): 昔在漢陰 (here referring to Hsiang-yang) 十有五載, 講放光經, 歲常兩遍, 反至京師 (Ch'angan) 漸四歲矣, 亦恆歲二, 未敢墮息; paraphrased in KSC V 352.3.18 (Link p. 26): 安在樊沔十五載, 每歲常再講放光般若, 未嘗廢闕.

⁶⁴ The earliest list is the one drawn up by Tao-an himself, and reproduced in CSTCC V 39.2 sqq.; it contains the titles of nine commentaries and exegetical treatises and of five other works on different subjects: a list of *devas* (三界諸天錄), his famous catalogue of translated scriptures (總理眾經目錄), some letters (cf. above, note 63) and a geographical work on the Western Region (西域志). The list mentions no less than six commentaries on the various versions of the *p'p'*: two on Dharmarakṣa's *Kuang-tsan ching*, three on Mokṣala's *Fang-kuang ching*, and one on Lokakṣema's *Tao-hsing ching*. It is interesting to note that Tao-an places these commentaries on *Prajñāpāramitā* texts at the beginning of the list, before his much earlier commentaries on *dhyāna* texts like the 十二門經 etc.; since the works are obviously arranged according to their relative doctrinary importance in Tao-an's

view, this proves the reorientation of his interest from *dhyāna* to *prajhāpāramitā* during his Hsiang-yang period when this list was compiled. Later lists comprise more works than enumerated here; cf. Ui, *op.cit.*, p. 52-63, and T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 242-243.

⁶⁵ See Tao-an's 合教光光讚略解序 (CSTCC VII 48.1 sqq.; written in or shortly after 376 AD) and his 漸備經十位梵名并書叙 (CSTCC IX 62.1 sqq.; written around the same time, cf. below, p. 196 sqq.)

⁶⁶ On Tao-an's "theory" or "school" of 本無, see T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 242-251; W. Liebenthal, *The Book of Chao*, p. 157-161; Fung Yu-lan/Bodde, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. II, p. 244-246.

⁶⁷ It forms the title of the 14th section (品, *parivarta*) of Lokakṣema's *Tao-hsing ching* (T 224) and of the 11th section of Mokṣala's *Fang-kuang ching* (T 221) as a translation of *tathatā*; with the same meaning it occurs e.g., in the early third century 中本起經, T 196 I 155.2.14: 今已入本無無憂無喜想.

⁶⁸ About the origin and the early use of the term *pen-wu* see T'ang Yung-t'ung, 中國佛教史零篇 ("Notes on the History of Chinese Buddhism"), *YCHP*, 1937, p. 8 sqq., 魏晉玄學流別略論 (in his 魏晉玄學論稿), p. 50-52, and his *History*, p. 240-241.

⁶⁹ E.g., *Tao te ching* 25 (有物混成. 先天地生 etc.); *ib.* 42 (道生一. 一生二. 二生三. 三生萬物 etc.); *Lieh-tzu* I (ch. 天端), p. 2 (有太易. 有太初. 有太始 etc.), and esp. *Chuang-tzu* XII (ch. 天地) p. 73 (泰初有無. 無有無名. 一之所起. 有一而未形, etc.).

⁷⁰ In a passage from some treatise by Hui-yüan (probably his 法性論 mentioned in his biography, cf. below p. 249), quoted by Hui-ta 惠達 (second half sixth century) in his *Chao-lun shu* 肇論疏, *Suppl. Kyōto* II B/23.4.

⁷¹ CSTCC VII 48.1 sqq.

⁷² 有為 as a Buddhist "technical" term = *samskrta*, but here rather in its original Chinese sense of "activity", the counterpart of 無為 in the previous sentence.

⁷³ KSC V 353.1 (trsl. Link p. 35). Piṇḍola was regarded as one of the Arhats who had voluntarily remained in the world to protect the Doctrine until the coming of Maitreya. On this belief which seems to foreshadow the development of the Bodhisattva doctrine, and of which this is one of the earliest traces in Chinese Buddhist literature, cf. Sylvain Lévi and Ed. Chavannes, "Les Seize Arhat protecteurs de la Loi", *J.As.*, 1916, II, p. 205-275, and P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, p. 373 sqq.

⁷⁴ For this belief, which very probably developed at Kashmir in Hinayanist circles, see P. Demiéville, "La *Yogācārabhūmi* de Saṅgharakṣa", in *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, p. 339-436, esp. p. 376 sqq.

⁷⁵ Cf. the titles given by T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 218. However, Itō Giken 伊藤義賢 in his *Shina bukkyō seishi* 支那佛教正史 (Tōkyō 1923), p. 192-193, comes to the conclusion that the base of Tao-an's belief in Maitreya must not be sought in these scriptures but rather in oral traditions current at this time in China. For a survey of literature on Maitreya in general cf. Et. Lamotte, *Traité*, p. 4 note 3.

⁷⁶ KSC V (biogr. of Tao-an), p. 353.1.27 (trsl. Link, p. 36); cf. *Meisōdendō* p. 5a; KSC V (biogr. of T'an-chieh 曇戒), p. 356.3.3; T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 217-219; P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, p. 377.

⁷⁷ KSC V 353.2 (trsl. Link, p. 36-37); P. Demiéville (*op.cit.*, p. 379-380) gives several examples which show that *samādhi* was considered the means to come into contact with the Tuṣita heaven.

⁷⁸ Biography of T'an-chieh 曇戒, cf. note 76.

⁷⁹ *HS* 30, based on the "Seven Summaries" 七略, a classified catalogue of the books in the imperial library, compiled by the archivist Liu Hsiang 劉向 (died 8 BC) and after his death completed by his son Liu Hsin 劉歆 (died 23 AD). The idea of compiling a bibliography of scriptures was certainly of Chinese and not of Indian or Central Asian origin—it is one of the by-products of the penetration of Buddhism

in a bureaucratic country. In secular bibliography we cannot find any motivation of an ideological nature. It was a purely practical attempt to assemble, arrange and classify books and documents of lasting value, of all types, all times and all schools of thought. The practical nature of Chinese bibliography at its very beginning is also demonstrated by the fact that one of the first known catalogues before Liu Hsiang was one devoted to works on military strategy; cf. Yao Ming-ta 姚名達, *Chung-kuo mu-lu-hsüeh shih* 中國目錄學史 (中國文化史叢書, second series, Shanghai 1938), p. 23 sqq.

⁸⁰ Cf. Tang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 208-210.

⁸¹ CSTCC IX 62.1 sqq. Indications that it was Tao-an who wrote this letter are the following: the author says to have formerly been at Yeh (昔鄴中亦與周旋……); the great emphasis on bibliographical and historical details concerning the translation of certain scriptures; the author has also lived in the North (吾往在河北唯見一卷……) and is now obviously living at Hsiang-yang; his insistence on the importance of the monastic rules, especially the phrase 此乃最急, cf. Tao-an's words in his preface to the 增一阿含經 (CSTCC IX.2.25) about the Vinaya: 此乃此邦之急者也; the author's relation with Shih Hui-ch'ang 釋慧常 at Liang-chou, corroborated by Tao-an's 合放光光讚略解序, CSTCC VII 48.1.21 sqq.

⁸² Hui-ch'ang 慧常, Chin-hsing 進行 and Hui-pien 慧辯 were three monks, probably disciples of Tao-an (Hui-ch'ang bears here the religious surname Shih 釋 which, although not quite unknown before, was made popular by Tao-an at Hsiang-yang only a few years before), who according to Tao-an's 合放光光讚略解序 (CSTCC VII 48.1.21) had departed for India and who in 373 AD copied for him the *Kuang-tsan ching* at Liang-chou, a place they had to pass on their way to Central Asia. It seems that Hui-ch'ang never went to India, as he is mentioned as a member of the translation team which in 379 AD at Ch'angan made a Chinese version of the *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa* (CSTCC XI 81.2.24). Hui-ch'ang and Tao-chin figure also in a colophon on the *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra* translated by the Kuchean Po Yen 帛延 in 373 AD at Liang-chou (CSTCC VII 49.2.27), which text they sent to Tao-an at Hsiang-yang, as is shown by this letter, immediately after its completion.

⁸³ KSC VI (biography of Hui-yüan) 358.1.17, cf. below, p. 241.

⁸⁴ Biography in KSC V 355.3.2; cf. also below, p. 240.

⁸⁵ Biography in KSC V 355.2.5 sqq.

⁸⁶ A letter to Hui-yüan extolling the virtues of Tao-an is quoted at the end of his biography in KSC.

⁸⁷ Biography in KSC V 356.2.3 sqq.

⁸⁸ Cf. above, Ch. I note 32.

⁸⁹ [寶]印手 [菩薩], *Ratnamudrāhastā*, the name of a Bodhisattva who is mentioned e.g., at the beginning of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (version of Kumārajīva, T 475 ch. I p. 537.2.5, version of Chih Ch'ien, T 474 ch. I p. 519.2.8). Tao-an is said to have had a loose piece of skin attached to his left forearm which could be moved up and down, and on account of this characteristic (not a "malformity", but one of those bodily peculiarities which Chinese historians often ascribe to exceptional people, cf. Fo-t'u-teng, above p. 182!) he was called "The Bodhisattva with the Sealed Hand" 印手菩薩. *Mudrā* here naturally does not mean "(impression of) a seal"; the name must probably be interpreted as "The Bodhisattva with the hands making the gesture of (producing) jewels", the first of the two explanations given by Kumārajīva in his gloss to this passage of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* in T 1775, 注維摩經, ch. I p. 330.3.5, where 印 is explained by 相 *lakṣaṇa*: 印者相也. 手有出寶之相. 亦曰. 手中有寶印也. Kumārajīva himself is reported to have called Tao-an "the Saint of the East" (KSC V 354.1.2), cf. also Tsukamoto Zenryū in his note to *Shih-Lao chih*, trsl. L. Hurvitz, in *Yün-kang* vol. XVI, suppl. p. 50 (§ 36).

⁹⁰ KSC V 356.2.15: 立本論九篇. 六識旨歸十二首. These treatises are not

mentioned by Lu Ch'eng, nor by any bibliographical work except *Ta T'ang NTL* (T 2149) II 248.3.26 and X 330.2.8.

⁹¹ Biography in *KSC* VI 362.1.11.

⁹² Biography in *KSC* V 356.2.17.

⁹³ Cf. *CS* 64.7b.

⁹⁴ Cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 346.

⁹⁵ *KSC* V 352.3.26 (trsl. Link p. 27-28).

⁹⁶ *CS* 114.3b.

⁹⁷ The more extensive version of this story may have figured in some early separate biography of Tao-an, such as the 安和尚傳 or the 安法師傳 quoted in the *SSHY Comm.* IB/24b and IIA/32b, the *KSC* account being an abridgement of this, and the full text being reproduced in the *CS*. We may as well suppose that it occurred as such in the annals of the Former Ch'in which furnished the materials for this part of the *Chin-shu*.

⁹⁸ *KSC* V 353.1 (trsl. Link p. 32 sqq.); *CS* 114.3b.

⁹⁹ *CS* 114.5a.

¹⁰⁰ *CS* 114.4a; *KSC* V 253.1. (trsl. Link p. 34). The *CS* version reads: 可暫幸洛陽明授勝略馳紙撒于丹陽開其改迷之路如其不庭伐之可也

¹⁰¹ *CS* 113.9b. The prohibition of the *t'u-ch'an* was no doubt inspired by political motives, as this kind of apocryphal texts was often consulted and even produced by seditious elements.

¹⁰² *KSC* V 353.1.5 (trsl. Link p. 29).

¹⁰³ *KSC* V 353.1.14 (trsl. Link p. 31).

¹⁰⁴ *KSC* V 353.1.6 (trsl. Link p. 30).

¹⁰⁵ For the restitution of 僧伽跋澄 to Saṅghabhadra see P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLIV, 1954, p. 364, note 8.

¹⁰⁶ Biography in *CSTCC* XIII 99.2 and *KSC* I 329.1.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. below, p. 296.

¹⁰⁸ See Tao-an's 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序, *CSTCC* VIII 52.2.23 sqq.; the anonymous colophon on the *Yogācārabhūmi*, *ib.* X 71.3.2; Chao Cheng's words reported in Tao-an's 鞞婆沙序, *ib.* X 73.3.15; those of Hui-ch'ang reported in Tao-an's 比丘大戒序, *ib.* XI 80.2.10 sqq.; Chu Fo-nien's words in his 王子法益環目因緣經序, *ib.* VII 51.3.12.

¹⁰⁹ See the first documents mentioned in note 108.

¹¹⁰ *CSTCC* X 71.3.2: (Tao-an) 許其五失胡本出此以外毫不可差. Cf. Ōchō Enichi 横超慧日, "Shaku Dōan no hanron" 釋道安の翻論, in *Indogaku-Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* V. 2 (March 1957), p. 120-130.

¹¹¹ Cf. Hui-jui in his 大品經序, *CSTCC* VIII 53.1.29. For the problem of the name of the author cf. A. F. Wright, "Seng-jui alias Hui-jui: a biographical bisection in the Kao-seng chuan", *Sino-Indian Studies*, *Liebenthal Festschrift* p. 272-294, and Ōchō Enichi 横超慧日, "Sōei to E'ei wa dōnin nari" 僧叡と慧叡以同人と, *Tōhōgaku* XIII (1942) p. 203-231.

¹¹² *KSC* V 352.3.26 (trsl. Link p. 28).

¹¹³ T 1547, an abridgement of the *Mahāvibhāṣa*, attributed to a still unidentified *ābhidharmika* called in Chinese Shih-t'o-p'an-ni 尸陀槃尼.

¹¹⁴ T 1550, an extract from the *Abhidharma* of the Sarvāstivādins attributed to (?) Dharmottara or (?) Dharmasri 法勝.

¹¹⁵ T 1543, in 30 *chüan*, also recited by Saṅghadeva; attributed to the patriarch Kātyāyana or Kātyāyanīputra.

¹¹⁶ T 26, in 60 *chüan*; T 125, in 51 *chüan*.

¹¹⁷ *CSTCC* IX 64.3.17: 但恨八九之年始遇此經; cf. *ib.* X 73.3.25: 恨八九之年方聞其編耳.

¹¹⁸ Cf. *Lun-yü* XIX 23.3: 夫子之牆數仞,不得其門而入,不見宗廟之美,百官之富.

¹¹⁹ Probably = T 226.

¹²⁰ According to Tao-an's biography in *KSC*, he died on a date corresponding with March 5, 385 AD, but this is almost certainly a mistake. Cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 196-197.

¹²¹ Earliest biographical sources: the early fifth century 遺法師銘 by Chang Yeh 張野 (one of Hui-yüan's lay followers, cf. p. 219), quoted in *SSHY comm.* IB. 27a-b, and Hui-yüan's biography in *CSTCC* XV 109.2 sqq. and *KSC* VI 357.3 (translated in the Appendix to this chapter). Surviving fragments of his works collected by Yen K'o-chün 嚴可均 in *CCW* 161-162 (not containing Hui-yüan's correspondence with Kumārajīva, T 1856); on his life and teachings see T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 341-373; Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定, *Shina ni okeru bukkyō to jukyō dōkyō* 支那に於ける佛教と儒教道教 (Tōkyō 1937), p. 56-57; Tsukamoto Zenryū, *Shina bukkyōshi kenkyū*, p. 613 sqq. (about the earliest development of Amidism), and esp. p. 630 sqq. (about Hui-yüan and *buddhānusmṛti*); Inouye Ichii 井上以智為, "Rozan-bunka to Eon" 廬山文化と慧遠, in *Shien* 史淵 IX, 1934, p. 1-34; J. Šćuckij, "Ein Daoist im chinesischen Buddhismus" (trsl. from the Russian by W. A. Unkrig), *Sinica* XV, 1940, p. 114-129; W. Liebenthal, "Shih Hui-yüan's Buddhism as set forth in his writings", *JAOS* LXX, 1950, p. 243-259, and for Hui-yüan's theory of the "immortality of the Soul" the sources mentioned above, ch. I note 40; for a translation of his treatise 沙門不敬王者論 see Leon Hurvitz, "'Render unto Caesar' in Early Chinese Buddhism", in the Liebenenthal Festschrift, *Sino-Indian studies* V (Santiniketan, 1957), p. 80-114.

¹²² Cf. Chang Yeh's "Inscription" (*SSHY comm.* IB.27a): 世為冠族; for his "poverty" cf. the episode about the candles which he could not buy, in his biography (trsl. below, App. p. 240). The Chia from Yen-men were not one of the great clans; the prominent gentry family of Chia came from P'ing-yüan 平原 (Shantung), cf. Wang I-t'ung, *op.cit.*, vol. II, table 30.

¹²³ *KHMC* XXVII, 304.1.25 sqq.; partly translated below, p. 311.

¹²⁴ *CS* 8.3b.

¹²⁵ *CS* 8.4a, cf. also above, p. 111.

¹²⁶ *CS* 8.4b.

¹²⁷ See below, App. note 6.

¹²⁸ Lived 337-412; biography in *KSC* VI 361.2.

¹²⁹ Already in 357, when Hui-yüan was 23 years old, Tao-an allowed him to explain the Buddhist scriptures with the help of secular literature (cf. above, p. 12); cf. also Tao-an's words about Hui-yüan reported in the latter's biography (*CSTCC* XV 109.2.23 = *KSC* VI 358.2.9): 便通流東國其在遺乎。

¹³⁰ *CS* 15 (地理志) 4a.

¹³¹ *KSC* VI (biography of Hui-yung), 362.1.13.

¹³² *Pao-p'u tzu* IV (ch. 金丹), p. 20-21; trsl. by Eugene Feifel in *Mon. Ser.* IX (1944) p. 30-31.

¹³³ It is interesting to note that Ko Hung here emphasizes the importance of K'uai-chi (one of the strongholds of gentry Buddhism since the early fourth century) as a region of mountains suited to these practices, especially "since the famous mountains of the Central Region 中國 (occupied by barbarians) cannot be reached nowadays".

¹³⁴ *KSC* VI (biography of Hui-ch'ih) 361.3.6 sqq.

¹³⁵ Hsieh Ling-yün in his 廬山慧遠法師誄, *KHMC* XXIII 267.1.17.

¹³⁶ See e.g., the *Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta tz'u-tien* p. 1400.2-3, where no less than six mountains of this name are mentioned.

¹³⁷ The one North of Ch'ü-chiang 曲江 in Kuangtung, originally named Hu-shih shan 虎市山; when the monk Shih Seng-lü 釋僧律 was living there during the *i-hsi* era (405-418 AD), the name was changed into Ling-chiu shan. Cf. *Shui-ching chu*, ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, 38.21a.

¹³⁸ Quoted in *SSHY* II B.44b (here called 遊廬山記), *TPYL* 41.3b and 41.6a, *Shui-ching chu*, ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, 39.19a; Ch'en Shun-yü's 陳舜俞 *Lu-shan chi* (T 2095) I 1027.3 and 1031.6; *CCW* 162.6b; *IWLC* 7.20b; *Wen-hsüan* comm. 12.256; 22.480; 26.583.

¹³⁹ *KSC* I 323.2.26 sqq.

¹⁴⁰ *KSC* (*loc.cit.*) has 斯亭湖廟 which seems to be the correct reading, cf. the fragment of the *Lu-shan fu* 廬山賦 by Chih T'an-ti 支曇詵 (died 411 AD, quoted in *I-wen lei-chu* 7.22a): 世高垂化於斯亭。

¹⁴¹ A certain Chieh Chih 解直, the husband of Hui-yüan's paternal aunt who later became the nun Tao-i 道儀, cf. *PCNC* I 937.1.9 and below, p. 210.

¹⁴² *CS* 81 (biogr. of Huan I) 6b.

¹⁴³ *Viz.*, T 2095 (*Lu-shan chi*, 11th cent.), I 1027.3.19.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Liu I-min's 劉道民 (*i.e.*, Liu Ch'eng-chih's 劉程之) letter to Seng-chao 僧肇 and the latter's answer to Liu I-min, both written in 409 AD (*Chao-lun* part IV, *Jōron kenkyū*, p. 36 sqq., trsl. Liebenthal, p. 87 sqq.), and the letter of Lei Tz'u-tsung 雷次宗 for which see below, p. 218.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. *KSC* VI (biogr. of Tao-tsu 道祖), 363.1.26: 又有法幽道恆道授等百有餘人……; *ib.* (biogr. of Hui-yung 慧永): 從者百餘…… The 123 persons who took part in the "vow" in 402 AD (cf. p. 219) probably constituted the whole number of Hui-yüan's clerical and lay followers then present at Mt. Lu; according to the anonymous colophon on the ?*Abhidharmahrdaya* 阿毘曇心 (*CSTCC* X 72.2.23) only eighty monks were gathered when Saṅghadeva translated this scripture in 391 AD.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. *KSC* VI (biogr. of Hui-ch'ih) 361.2.21.

¹⁴⁷ Biography in *KSC* VII 370.1.19.

¹⁴⁸ Biogr. in *KSC* VI 361.2.14 and *Meisōdenshō* p. 11b.

¹⁴⁹ *KSC* VI (biography of Fa-an) p. 362.2.

¹⁵⁰ *PCNC* I 937.1.10 and *KSC* VI (biography of Hui-ch'ih) 361.2.21.

¹⁵¹ Wang Hsün (350-401 AD, biogr. in *CS* 65.7a), one of the grandsons of Wang Tao, belonged to the *intimi* of Huan Wen and of emperor Hsiao-wu. According to *CS* 65.8b (biography of Wang Min 王珣), his "junior style" 小字 was the Buddhist name 法護 ("Dharmarakṣa"). Among the monks sponsored by him we find Tao-i 道壹 (cf. *KSC* V 357.1.10; also mentioned in Wang Hsün's 遊巖陵漱詩序 quoted in *SSHY* comm. IA/46a), Chu Fa-t'ai 竺法汰 (cf. *KSC* V 355.1.6), Saṅghadeva and Saṅgharakṣa (*CSTCC* IX 64.1.7, *KSC* I 329.1.15 and VI 361.2.24) and Hui-ch'ih (*KSC* VI 361.2.24). Together with his brother Wang Min 王珣 he attended Saṅghadeva's exposition of Abhidharma (*SSHY* IB/28a, *KSC* I 329.1.19, *CS* 65.7b-8a); two letters written by him to Fan Ning 范寧 (337-401) about the qualities of Hui-yüan and Hui-ch'ih are quoted in *KSC* VI 361.2.28; see furthermore his "Preface to poems written at the grave of Master Lin (*i.e.*, Chih Tun)" quoted in *SSHY* comm. IIIA/12a (he visited Chih Tun's grave in 374 AD), and the Buddhist terminology in his 孝武帝策策文 of 397 AD, quoted in *IWLC* 13.20b.

¹⁵² *KSC* VI 361.2.25 and Tao-tz'u's 道慈 "Preface to the *Madhyamāgama*", *CSTCC* IX 64.1.9.

¹⁵³ Two letters from Wang Hsün to Fan Ning and one reply by Fan Ning, see above note 151; a letter from Wang Kung 王恭 (?-398 AD) to the monk Seng-chien 僧檢 quoted *KSC* VI 361.3.2.

¹⁵⁴ Before 399 Tao-an's associate Fa-ho 法和 had propagated Buddhism in Shu 蜀 (present-day Ssu-ch'uan) during the years 365-379 AD (*KSC* V 354.1.20), but little is known about his activities there. Hui-ch'ih's biography shows that ca. 400 Buddhism was already flourishing in this outlying territory, and this appears still more clearly from the biography of Tao-wang 道汪, a disciple of Hui-yüan who around the same time settled at Ch'eng-tu and there entertained close relations with the highest magistracy (*KSC* VII 371.3).

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Hui-yüan's biography, trsl. below p. 249 and p. 252.

¹⁵⁶ 方外之賓, cf. 沙門不敬王者論 section II, HMC V 30.2.6.

¹⁵⁷ KSC VII 370.3.3.

¹⁵⁸ KSC VII 372.2.28.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Hui-yüan's biography, trsl. below p. 246.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. below, App. p. 249. A nephew of Yao Hsing became a monk after the downfall of the Later Ch'in, cf. CSTCC IX 68.2.1 (無量義經序).

¹⁶¹ Wang Hsün 王珣 (350-401, cf. note 151) and his younger brother Wang Min 珣 (351-398, biogr. CS 65.7b; "junior style" 僧彌, wrote an essay about Śrimitra, KSC I 328.1.15; admirer of Tao-i 道壹, KSC V 357.1.10; had great knowledge of the Abhidharma and follows Saṅghadeva's explications, SSHY IB/28a-b, KSC I 329.1.19; CS 65.7b-8a); Wang Mi 王謐 (360-407; cf. below, p. 213); Wang Mo 王默 (biogr. CS 65.8b; for his contact with Hui-yüan cf. KSC VI 359.2.1 = CSTCC XV 110.1.9); Wang Mu 王穆 (biographical note CS 65.8b; according to *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* XXVI (T 2035) 261.2.26, he visited Hui-yüan on Mt. Lu ca. 402, where he wrote poems on *buddhānusmṛti* 念佛三昧).

¹⁶² Beside Hui-ch'ih who visited the capital in 397/398 AD, the KSC mentions Hui-yüan's disciple Tao-tsu 道祖 who at the beginning of the fifth century went to live at the famous Wa-kuan 瓦官 monastery at Chienk'ang (KSC VI 363.1), and Tao-wang 道汪, who had lived at the capital and who from there went to the Lu-shan to become Hui-yüan's pupil, probably around the same time (KSC VII 371.3).

¹⁶³ KSC VI 361.3.11 sqq.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. note 161 above.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Hui-yüan's biography trsl. below, p. 246.

¹⁶⁶ SSHY IB/27b-28a.

¹⁶⁷ SSHY IB/27a.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. KHMC XVI 211.1.22 (南齊僕射王奐枳園寺剎下石記 by Shen Yüeh 沈約, dated 488 AD). According to this source, the monastery was founded by Wang Shao and enlarged in 488 by Wang Shao's great-grandson Wang Huan 奐. However, both KSC III 339.2.22 and CSTCC XV 112.3.17 (cf. *K'ai-yüan SCL* V, T 2154, p. 525. 2.2) state that it was built shortly after 420 by Wang Shao's youngest son (and Wang Mi's younger brother) Wang Hui 王恢 in the eastern outskirts of the capital for the *dhyāna*-master Chih-yen 智嚴. Biography of Wang Hui (military career) in CS 65.8b.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. notes 151 and 161 above.

¹⁷⁰ CSTCC XII 83.1-84.3.

¹⁷¹ The following titles are found in the table of contents of the *Fa-lun*:

- (1) "On the true Nature (of all *dharma*s) 問實相; (2) "Does the Spirit exist in *Nirvāna*? 問涅槃有神不 (3) "Does the *Nirvāna* belong to expediency (權, *upāya*) or to Truth?" 問滅度權實 (4) "On the Pure Realm (of the Buddha)" 問清淨國; (5) "By means of what does the Buddha realize the Way?" 問佛成道時何用; (6) "About the method (or: 'doctrine') of *Prajñā*" 問般若法; (7) "About the appellation '*Prajñā*'" 問般若稱; (8) "About the knowing of *Prajñā*" 問般若知; (9) "Is *Prajñā* the wisdom (which realizes) the true nature (of *dharma*s)?" 問般若是實相智非; (10) "What is the difference between *prajñā* and *sarvajñatā* (omniscience)?" 問般若薩婆若同異 (11) "What is the difference between equanimity towards the non-origination of *dharma*s (*anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*) and *Prajñā*?" 問無生法忍般若同異; (12) "About matters of Ritual and *Prajñā*(?)" 問禮事般若; (13) "About the Buddha-wisdom" 問佛慧; (14) "What is the difference between Expediency and Wisdom?" 問權智同異; (15) "About the decision of the Bodhi-sattva to realize Buddhahood" 問菩薩發意成佛; (16) "About the *Dharmakāya*" 問法身; (17) "What fetters are broken at the moment of the realization of Buddhahood? 問成佛時斷何累; (18) "About grasping (?) the Three Vehicles" 問得三乘; (19) "About the *trīśarana*" 問三歸; (20) "About the *Pratyekabuddha*" 問辟支佛;

(21) "About the Bodhisattva being born in the five spheres of existence (道 = *gati*)" 問菩薩生五道中 ; (22) "About the seven Buddhas" 問七佛 ; (23) "About not perceiving Maitreya and not perceiving a thousand Buddhas (in *buddhānusmṛti-samādhi*?)" 問不見彌勒不見千佛 (24) "About the *Buddha-dharma(s)* not being subjected to old age(?)" 問佛法不老 ; (25) "About the mind, thought and cognition of the Spirit" 問精 (var. 禪) 神心意識 ; (26) "About the ten numerical *dharmas* (?)" 問十數法 ; (27) "About the (faculty of) cognition (or consciousness) of the Spirit" 問神識 .

¹⁷² In two, var. three *chüan*; cf. Wen T'ing-shih 文廷式, *Pu Chin-shu i-wen chih* 補晉書藝文志, in *Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien*, vol. III, p. 3705.1, and the works of the same title by Ch'in Jung-kuang 秦榮光 (*ib.*, p. 3802.1), by Wu Shih-chien 吳士鑑 (*ib.*, 3852.1) and by Huang Feng-yüan 黃逢元 (*ib.* 3897.3).

¹⁷³ Cf. above, p. 148.

¹⁷⁴ SSHY IIIB/15b.

¹⁷⁵ Hui-ch'ih: KSC VI, 361.3.14; Tao-tsu: *ib.*, 363.1.13.

¹⁷⁶ He tried to persuade Hui-yüan to give up the religious life; cf. Hui-yüan's biography, KSC VI 360.2.16 (trsl. below, p. 250; Huan's letter and Hui-yüan's answer reproduced in *HMC XI* 75.1.6); he did the same with Tao-tsu in 404 AD (KSC VI 363.1.16).

¹⁷⁷ In *HMC XII* 85.3.6 we find a document professing to be a letter by Chih Tao-lin (Chih Tun) to Huan Hsüan in which he protests against the proposed registration of the clergy: 支道林法師與桓玄州符 (for 府?) 求沙門名籍書, dated the fifth day of the fourth month of *lung-an* 3, i.e. May 25, 399 AD. As we have said before (cf. above, p. 17), the title cannot be correct (Chih Tun died in 366!), but this is not a reason to reject the whole letter as a forgery; in fact, the writers refer in the opening lines to themselves as "We, monks of the capital . . .". It is, however, difficult to say what could have been Huan Hsüan's role in this registration. In May 399 AD he resided at Chiang-ling as the leader of the military junta against Ssu-ma Tao-tzu, and, although he was at that time already the most powerful man in the central provinces, he cannot have exercised any influence on the policy of the *metropolitan* authorities towards the clergy. Or do these monks only protest against measures taken against their brothers in the central provinces? The contents of the letter are too vague to affirm or to deny this. In any case, if the letter is authentic and if such a registration was indeed planned or carried out in 399 AD, it is fairly certain that it emanated from Huan Hsüan.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Hui-yüan's statement in the colophon on his 沙門不敬王者論 (*HMC V* 32.2.9), viz. that he and his associates on Mt. Lu had been deeply distressed at the humiliation of emperor An, and that he had composed the treatise for this reason (i.e. as a protest against Huan Hsüan)

¹⁷⁹ Cf. below, App. note 125.

¹⁸⁰ Lived 392-473, one of the most prominent members of the imperial family of the (Liu)-Sung dynasty; biography in *Sung-shu* 51.11b. He entertained relations with Hui-yüan's disciple T'an-shun 曇順 for whom he built a monastery at Chiang-ling, cf. KSC VI 363.1.23.

¹⁸¹ Biography of Lu Hsün in *CS* 100.15b sqq.; biography of Lu Ch'en *ib.* 44.6a.

¹⁸² Mentioned in *CS* 100.16b at the end of Lu Hsün's biography.

¹⁸³ Quoted in *IWLC* 87.20b and *TPYL* 972.7b.

¹⁸⁴ For the Han code see *HHS* 60.7a (cf. *HS* 72.25a), and the cases concerning "hiding fugitives from justice" (i.e. *HS* 60.3b; A. F. P. Hulswé, *Remnants of Han Law I* p. 261 nr. 9 and note 20, and p. 266).

¹⁸⁵ In 410/411 AD, when Hui-yüan wrote a letter to Yao Hsing in order to clarify the case of the expulsion of Buddhahadra (cf. below, p. 223), *CSTCC XIV* (biography of Buddhahadra) 104.1.1 = KSC II 335.2.15.

¹⁸⁶ The biographies of Hui-yüan in *CSTCC XV* and *KSC VI*, the poems by Wang

Ch'i-chih 王齊之 in *KHMC* XXX 351.3.8 sqq.; the biographies of some of Hui-yüan's lay followers in *Sung-shu* 93.

¹⁸⁷ T 2095. For these later traditions see T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 366-371.

¹⁸⁸ *KHMC* XXVII 304.1: 興隱士劉遵氏等書.

¹⁸⁹ In the *Shih-pa hsien chuan*, T 2095 (*Lu-shan chi* III), p. 1039.3.18, and in the still later (13th cent.) *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* XXVI (T 2035) 268.1, which, however, say that he stayed on the mountain for twelve years; hence according to these sources he arrived in 399 AD.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. above, note 144.

¹⁹¹ Biogr. in *Sung-shu* 93.3b, *Nan-shih* 75.7a; cf. *Lu-shan chi* III, 1039.3; collected fragments of his literary works in *CSW* 29.9a sqq.

¹⁹² *Sung-shu*, *loc.cit.*

¹⁹³ His answer on questions concerning mourning garments posed by Yüan Yu 袁悠 (*T'ung-tien* 92.501.1) and his exposition of the mourning rites in reply to questions posed by Ts'ai Kuo 蔡廓 (*T'ung-tien* 103.546.3).

¹⁹⁴ 排發, allusion to *Lun-yü* VII.8: 不排不發 "I do not open up (the mind) of anyone who is not desirous to explain himself"

¹⁹⁵ *Sung-shu* 93.3b.

¹⁹⁶ Biography in *Sung-shu* 93.3b, *Nan-shih* 75.6a; *Lu-shan chi* III 1039.3; fragments of his works in *CCW* 142.7a.

¹⁹⁷ Various fragments quoted in *T'ung-tien* 97, cf. *CCW* 142.7a-b, and *Yü-han shan-fang chi i-shu* 玉函山房輯佚書 vol. 79.

¹⁹⁸ When at Hui-yüan's request he wrote a refutation of Tai K'uei's 戴逵 *Shih i lun* 釋疑論 (*KHMC* XVII 222.2 sqq.), he was obviously already living at the Lu-shan, and this correspondence must have taken place before 396 AD, the year in which Tai K'uei died.

¹⁹⁹ Biography in *Sung-shu* 93.2b, *Nan-shih* 75.3b; *Lu-shan chi* III 1040. 1; fragments of his work in *CSW* 20.21.

²⁰⁰ For the *Ming fo lun* (*HMC* II 9.2-16.1) see above, p. 15.

²⁰¹ *Shih-pa hsien chuan*, in *Lu-shan chi* III, T 2095 p. 1040.1.

²⁰² 遠法師銘, quoted in *SSHY comm.* IB/27 a-b.

²⁰³ *Shih-pa hsien chuan*, in *Lu-shan chi* III, T 2095 p. 1042.2.

²⁰⁴ Biography of Pi Cho in *CS* 49.2b.

²⁰⁵ *KHMC* XXX 351.3.8 sqq: 念佛三昧詩四首 and four more eulogies on the Bodhisattvas Sadāprarudita and Dharmodgata and on the Buddhas, by "Wang Ch'i-chih 齊之 from Lang-yeh"; paraphrase in English of the four first poems by W. Lieenthal in *The Book of Chao*, p. 193-195. In *Lu-shan chi* IV 1042.3.9 and *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* XXVI (T 2035), 261.3.17 he figures as "Wang Ch'iao-chih 喬之 prefect of Lin-ho 臨賀. Judging from the form of his personal name, this person must belong to the third generation descendants of Wang Cheng 正 who, unlike the members of the other branches of this clan, have almost without exception two-syllable personal names ending in 之. Wang Ch'i-chih must have died before 417 AD, since the monk Tao-heng 道恆, who died in that year, is reported to have written a "lament" at the occasion of his death (*KSC* VI 365.1.7).

²⁰⁶ *CSTCC* XII 84.2.5.

²⁰⁷ T 417/418, cf. above, p. 35; P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XLIV (1954), p. 355 sqq., esp. p. 357, note 8.

²⁰⁸ T 418, ch. I, section 2 (行品), p. 905.1.6 sqq. = T 417 p. 899.1.11.

²⁰⁹ *ib.*, section 3 (四事品), p. 906.1.17 sqq. = T 417. p. 899.3.12.

²¹⁰ *ib.*, section 2 (行品), p. 905.1.23 sqq., cf. T 417 p. 899.2.18.

²¹¹ *KHMC* XXX, 351.2.21.

²¹² According to a late tradition this was the *Lotus sūtra* (cf. P. Demiéville, *loc.cit.*); probably rather the *Sukhāvativyūha*, cf. the account of Seng-chi's death translated below.

²¹³ *KHMC* XXVII 304.2.8 sqq.

²¹⁴ T 362, 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀適 度人道經 (var. 大阿彌陀經) in two *chüan*.

²¹⁵ T 362 II 310.1.3 sqq.; *Sukhāvativyūha* 27-28, trsl. F. Max Müller in *Buddhist Mahāyāna texts* (*SBE*, vol. XLIX, Oxford, 1894), part II, p. 45-46.

²¹⁶ Or, acc. to the Korean edition, "establish your mind in . . ." (建心 in stead of 蓮心).

²¹⁷ Lit. "the four great elements" (四大, *mahābhūta*), here denoting the material body? Perhaps rather a mistake for 四支 (支, as often, for 肢): "the four members", i.e., the body. We could think of a more philosophical interpretation: "By examination (he realized) that the four elements (being illusory) are in no way subject to disease and suffering", but cf. the account of the death of Liu Ch'eng-chih (trsl. above) who also took leave of the monks without showing any signs of disease.

²¹⁸ *KSC* VI 362.2.17 sqq.

²¹⁹ Reading, with most editions, 斂 in stead of 飲.

²²⁰ *KSC* VI, 362.2.5 sqq.

²²¹ From Hui-yüan's 廬山出修行方便禪經統序 (preface to the *dhyāna*-*"sūtra"* of Buddhāsena), *CSTCC* IX, 65.2.28.

²²² Hui-yüan's 念佛三昧詩集序, *KHMC* XXX, 351.2.11.

²²³ See e.g., K'ang Seng-hui's preface to the 安般守意經 (mid. third cent.) in *CSTCC* VI, 43.1.6 sqq., and Hsieh Fu's 謝敷 preface to the same scripture, *ib.*, 43.3.26 sqq. (for Hsieh Fu cf. above, p. 136).

²²⁴ Hui-yüan's 念佛三昧詩集序, *KHMC* XXX, 351.2.16.

²²⁵ 不以生果其神, cf. his 沙門不敬王者論, section 3, *HMC* V, 30.3.14.

²²⁶ Preface to the *Dhyana*-*"sūtra"*, *CSTCC* IX, 65.3.18.

²²⁷ T 618, 蓮華多羅禪經 (*Yogācārabhūmi*) in two *chüan* and 17 sections. For the Mahāyānist passage about *buddhānusr̥ti* near the end of the work cf. P. Demiéville, *op.cit.*, p. 363.

²²⁸ The story of Sadāprarudita's quest for Wisdom and his conversation with the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata is found in the last chapters of both the smaller and the larger *Prajñāpāramitā*. In spite of its narrative and even lively style which curiously contrasts with the unbearable monotony of all other sections, it appears to have been part of the 8.000 and 25.000 *p'p'* since very early times, since it already figures in the first Chinese versions of these scriptures (sections 28-29 of Lokakṣema's 道行經, T 224; sections 88-89 of Mokṣala's 放光經, T 221; sections 27-28 of Kumārajiva's 小品般若波羅蜜經, T 227; sections 88-89 of his 摩訶般若波羅蜜經, T 223; Sanskrit text *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* 30-31, trsl. E. Conze, p. 327 sqq.). The Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita 薩陀波闍 is urged by voices from the air to devote himself exclusively to the realization of the *prajñāpāramitā* and to go to the East to do so. By listening to their sermon he is so overjoyed that he forgets to ask where he has to go, and when the voices have disappeared, he is overwhelmed by sadness and regret. For seven days and nights he concentrates his whole mind on the problem how and where to obtain the *prajñāpāramitā*. After seven days, the Buddha manifests himself before his eyes, complete with all characteristics of the Buddha-body, and, praising him for his zeal, he tells him to join the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata 曇無竭 at the city of Gandhavatī, who will instruct him. Sadāprarudita then masters a great number of *samādhi* by which he is able to perceive innumerable Buddhas who encourage him and tell him to go to Dharmodgata, but whenever he emerges out of his trance he is distressed at the fact that these Buddhas have disappeared. He therefore constantly ponders on the problem where these apparitions came from and to what place they have gone, and this is the first question which he poses to Dharmodgata who then explains to him the absolute nature of the transcendent Buddha-body which is the *dharmakāya* 法身. The relation between this story and the visualization of the Buddha by *buddhānusr̥ti* is obvious; in fact, Dharmodgata's problem (*viz.*,

the actual nature and origin of such apparitions) was the one which Hui-yüan himself in one of his letters submitted to Kumārajīva (cf. below, p. 228 nr. 11)! For the eulogies on the image of Sadāprarudita and Dharmodgata cf. above, note 205.

²²⁹ For the "shadow of the Buddha" at Nagarahāra see J. Przyluski, "Le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde dans le Vinaya des Mūla-Sarvāstivādin et les textes apparentés", *J.As.*, 1914, p. 565-568; Et. Lamotte, *Traité*, p. 551-553 and the sources mentioned there; for the "shadow" on Mt. Lu cf. the article of Inouye Ichii mentioned in note 121, and T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 346-347. The main source for the episode is Hui-yüan's "Inscription on the shadow of the Buddha" 佛影銘 (with preface and colophon) in *KHMC XV* 197.3-198.4; a somewhat deviating version of the five hymns of which this "inscription" consist is found in Hui-yüan's biography in *KSC* (trsl. below, App. p. 242, according to the *KHMC* text). Furthermore there is the "inscription" by Hsieh Ling-yün (cf. below, note 237). In all editions except the Korean one, the title of Hui-yüan's inscription is given as 萬佛影銘. This 萬 is no doubt a case of dittography: the foregoing text, an eulogy on Candraprabha by Chih Tun, ends with the words 凌風振奇芳, and this 芳, repeated by careless copying, has become distorted into 万 (= 萬) and joined to the title of the next piece.

²³⁰ Mentioned among Tao-an's works in *CSTCC V*, 40.1.6 and 8.

²³¹ *KHMC XV*, 198.1.10 sqq. The identity of the *Vinaya*-master is not known; it cannot have been Fa-hsien, who only returned in 413 and who is not known to have visited Mt. Lu.

²³² Cf. the sixth line of Hui-yüan's fourth hymn: "its movement faintly (appears on) the light (plain) silk" 運微輕素 (*ch'ing-su* no doubt refers to the painting material, as it matches the "point of the (painter's) brush 毫端 in the previous line).

²³³ *Li-tai san-pao chi VII*, T 2034, p. 71.1.10.

²³⁴ T 643, ch. VII p. 680.3 sqq.; partly translated by J. Przyluski, cf. note 229 above.

²³⁵ *ib.*, p. 681.3.3.

²³⁶ According to *CSTCC XIV*, 103.2.28, Buddhahadra came from "Northern India" (no place of birth specified); *KSC II*, 334.2-3 mentions two traditions: at the beginning of his biography (p. 334.2.27) he is said to have been born at Kapilavastu as a member of the Śākya family which professed to descend from king Amṛtodana, an uncle of the Buddha. This sounds like hagiography, an attempt to enhance Buddhahadra's holiness by stressing his personal relation with the founder of the religion. According to the second tradition, also reported in *KSC* (p. 334.3.17), he came from Nagarahāra 那呵利城, from a noble family which had been Buddhist since generations.

²³⁷ *KHMC XV*, 199.2-3, composed after the return of Fa-hsien who is mentioned in the preface. Another treatise about the "shadow of the Buddha", by Yen Yen-nien 顏延年 (early fifth century) is mentioned by Lu Ch'eng (*CSTCC XII* 83.3.3).

²³⁸ T 1856, in 3 *chüan*. Hui-yüan's letters to Kumārajīva are mentioned separately in different sections of the table of contents of Lu Ch'eng's *Fa-lun* (*CSTCC XII* 83.1.1 sqq.), which shows that ca. 465, when the *Fa-lun* was compiled, these had not yet been collected so as to form a single work. A collection of these letters appears for the first time in the *Chung-ching mu-lu* of 594 AD (T 2146 VI 147.1.26: 答問論二卷, 羅什答慧遠問).

²³⁹ These few words of course do not pretend to be an adequate account of Kumārajīva's life, the basic source for which is his biography in *KSC II* 330.1-331.1 (translated by J. Nobel in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1937). The best recent discussion of his life and activities is found in *Jōron kenkyū*, p. 130-146, by Tsukamoto Zenryū, who convincingly demonstrates that the dates of Kumārajīva's life must be 350-409 AD; see also T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 278-340, and Sakaino Kōyō 境野黃洋, *Shina bukkū seishi* 支那佛教精史 (Tōkyō 1935), p. 341-417.

²⁴⁰ The first letters are reproduced in Hui-yüan's biography in *KSC*, trsl. below, p. 246 sqq. These have not been included in T 1856, nor are they mentioned in the *Fa-lun mu-lu*, probably because they were not considered important from a doctrinal point of view.

²⁴¹ The *Fa-lun mu-lu* mentions one letter entitled "About the Spirit" 問論神 (*CSTCC* XII 84.3.27, no answer of Kumārajīva listed) which does not figure in T 1856. On the other hand, T 1856 contains one letter (nr. 6, entitled 次問受決法 "more questions about the *vyākaraṇa*") which is not mentioned by Lu Ch'eng. The letter nr. 17 in T 1856 is clearly a later redaction in which the contents of more than one letter have been combined; in fact, Lu Ch'eng mentions two documents devoted to the same subject: 問通學 and 重問通學 (p. 84.2.24). Lu Ch'eng's entry 問法身非色 (p. 83.2.29) certainly refers to nr. 9 of T 1856 (問造色法).

²⁴² An annotated Japanese translation of the *Ta-sheng ta i-chang* has been prepared by a joint study group under the direction of Tsukamoto Zenryū at the Institute of Humanistic studies (Jimbunkagaku-kenkyūjo) of Kyōto University, and it is to be hoped that this counterpart of the invaluable *Jōron kenkyū* will be published before long (cf. *Jōron kenkyū*, Introduction, p. 2).

²⁴³ The buddhology of the *Ta chih-tu lun* recognizes only 化身 (*nirmāṇakāya*) and 法身, the latter referring to the Buddha's "Dharma-body" (*dharmakāya*), as well as to his glorified body perceived by the Bodhisattvas (elsewhere denoted as *sambhogakāya*, "body of enjoyment")—a fact which still increases the confusion of Hui-yüan's ideas on this subject.

²⁴⁴ Hui-yüan's interest in these speculations must very probably be connected with his ideas about the nature of images visualized in *samādhi* (cf. nr. 11).

²⁴⁵ It is interesting to note that Hui-yüan in this letter uses the Mādhyamika type of syllogism to prove his argument.

²⁴⁶ See below, App. note 132 nrs. 6-9.

²⁴⁷ Cf. *SHHY* IIB/44b-45a.

²⁴⁸ Founded, according to *CSTCC* X 72.2.26 (阿毘曇心序, anon., 391 AD), by Wang Ning-chih 王凝之 (?-399), the second son of Wang Hsi-chih, like his father a famous calligrapher and a follower of Taoism (五斗米道); *CS* 80.6a.

²⁴⁹ *HMC* V 34.2-3. For the term 三報 cf. below, App. note 47.

²⁵⁰ Fan T'ai 范泰 (355-427 AD) in his 典生觀二法解書, *HMC* XII 78.2.18, cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 355.

²⁵¹ Lu Te-ming 陸德明 (Lu Yüan-lang 元朗, 550-626) in his *Mao-shih yin-i* 毛詩音義 (in the *chu-shu* ed. of the Odes, ch. IA p. 3a): 又案周禮之典當次宗 同受慧遠法師詩義, cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 360. For a collection of fragments of Chou Hsü-chih's glosses on the Odes, see *Yü-han shan-fang chi i-shu* vol. 16.

²⁵² 魏世錄, 吳世錄, 晉世雜錄 and 河西錄. For the date cf. P. Pelliot in *TP* XXII (1923), p. 102; biography of Tao-liu and Tao-tsu in *KSC* VI, 363.1.

²⁵³ (a) Letter of Huan Hsüan to the Eight Ministers, *HMC* XII 80.2 = T 2108, *Chi sha-men pu-ying pai-su teng shih*, ch. I, 444.3; (b) Reply of the Eight Ministers, *HMC* XII 80.2 = T 2108 p. 445.1; (c-k) Correspondence between Wang Mi and Huan Hsüan (nine letters), *HMC* XII, 80.3-83.2 = T 2108, p. 445.1-447.3; (l-n) Huan Hsüan's letter to Hui-yüan, answer by Hui-yüan and rejoinder by Huan, *HMC* XII, 83.2-84.1 = T 2108, p. 447.3-448.3; (o) Edict issued by Huan Hsüan granting the clergy the privilege "not to pay homage to the ruler", *HMC* XII 84.2; (p-v) remonstrances against this edict and answers by Huan Hsüan (seven documents), *HMC* XII, 84.2-95.1.

²⁵⁴ In these letters Huan Hsüan is called 太尉, which title he bore from May, 402 till February, 403 (*CS* 10.3b). On the other hand it is said in the last memorial of the courtiers (document v) that the writer on account of his work far from the capital had not been aware that a discussion had already been held "the spring of the previous

(year)" 去春 ; since this document is dated the 12th month of the year 403/404, this must refer to the spring of 402/403, hence probably May 402.

²⁵⁵ HMC XII, 80.2.14 = T 2108, I, p. 444.3.19.

²⁵⁶ Cf. *Tao te ching* 25: 道大, 天大, 地大, 王亦大. 域中有四大而王居其一焉.

²⁵⁷ HMC XII, 80.2.28 = T 2108, I, p. 445.1.3.

²⁵⁸ Magistrate and partisan of Huan Hsüan; biography CS 74.9a; acc. to CS 10.3b he had obtained the functions and titles given here (尚書令, 吏部尚書 and 領軍將軍) in April/May 402 AD.

²⁵⁹ Not mentioned elsewhere. Perhaps K'ung An-kuo 孔安國 (died 408, short biography in CS 78.2b), one of Ssu-ma Tao-tzu's partisans?

²⁶⁰ Mentioned in passing as 侍中, 尚書 and 吳國內史 in the biography of his son Chang Yü 張裕 in *Sung-shu* 53.1a.

²⁶¹ Not mentioned elsewhere; of course not the same person as the Shih Tao-pao mentioned above, p. 97.

²⁶² HMC XII 80.3.19; T 2108 I 445.1.25.

²⁶³ 率土, allusion to *Shih-ching*, Ode 209 (III.vi.1, Ode 北山): 率土之濱. 莫非王臣, cf. also below, p. 256.

²⁶⁴ Which would mean around the beginning of our era. Does Wang Mi here refer to the tradition of the Yueh-chih envoy of 2 BC (cf. above, p. 24)?

²⁶⁵ HMC XII 81.1.16 = T 2108 I 445.2.18.

²⁶⁶ HMC XII 81.2.22 = T 2108 I 445.3.21.

²⁶⁷ *Lun-yü* VIII.9: 民可使由之, 不可使知之.

²⁶⁸ HMC XII 82.1.25 = T 2108 I 446.2.17.

²⁶⁹ HMC XII 82.3.1 = T 2108 I 446.3.21.

²⁷⁰ HMC XII 83.2.1 = T 2108 I 447.2.20.

²⁷¹ Cf. *Lun-yü* II.3: 道之以政, 齊之以刑, 則民免而無恥 etc.

²⁷² HMC XII 81.1.25 = T 2108 I 445.2.26.

²⁷³ HMC XII 81.3.12 = T 2108 I 446.1.8.

²⁷⁴ HMC XII 82.2.9 = T 2108 I 446.2.29.

²⁷⁵ HMC XII 82.3.13 = T 2108 I 447.1.3.

²⁷⁶ HMC XII 81.2.4 = T 2108 I 445.3.5.

²⁷⁷ HMC XII 82.1.1 = T 2108 I 446.1.26.

²⁷⁸ HMC XII 81.2.10 = T 2108 I 445.3.11.

²⁷⁹ HMC XII 82.1.10 = T 2108 I 446.2.1.

²⁸⁰ HMC XII 81.2.14 = T 2108 I 445.3.14.

²⁸¹ HMC XII 82.1.18 = T 2108 I 446.2.10.

²⁸² HMC XII 82.2.24 = T 2108 I 446.3.15.

²⁸³ HMC XII 83.1.2 = T 2108 I 447.1.21.

²⁸⁴ HMC XII 83.3.2 = T 2108 I 447.3.19; shorter and somewhat different version in Hui-yüan's biography in *KSC*, trsl. below p. 250.

²⁸⁵ HMC XII 83.3.10 = T 2108 I 447.3.28.

²⁸⁶ *CSTCC* XV 110.2.26.

²⁸⁷ The first memorial of the courtiers, submitted immediately after Huan's edict, bears the curious date 太寧二年十二月三日. This *nien-hao* is not mentioned in any other historical source; CS 10.3b merely states that in the second year *yüan-hsing* 元興, 11th month *keng-ch'en* (December 21, 403 AD), emperor An handed over the seal of state to Wang Mi, who brought it to Huan Hsüan, and that Huan on the fourth of the 12th month of that year (January 2, 404) ascended the throne and assumed *yung-shih* 永始 as his *nien-hao*. Could *t'ai-heng* be a *nien-hao* privately assumed by Huan Hsüan during his dictatorship? In any case the date of the first memorial (十二月三日) must correspond to January 1, 404 AD, i.e., one day before his actual enthronement, and yet it contains the ceremonial terms commonly used when addressing the emperor. The last memorial is dated 始元元年十二月二十四日; again the same problem! But here 始元 may be a mistake for 元始 or 永始; in any

case this date must correspond to January 22, 404 AD, twenty days after Huan's usurpation.

²⁸⁸ HMC XII 84.2.25.

²⁸⁹ HMC XII 84.3.1-85.11.

²⁹⁰ Biography in CS 99.12a.

²⁹¹ See above, note 121.

²⁹² "Inscription" of Chang Yeh (*SSHY comm.* IB/27a): "at the age of eighty-three", no date given; "Eulogy" by Hsieh Ling-yün (*KHMC XXIII* 267.1.20): 417 AD, at the age of 84; *CSTCC XV* 110.3.3: "at the end of the *i-hsi* era" (-419) at the age of 83; *KSC VI*, 361.2.1: 416 AD, at the age of 83.

²⁹³ Cf. the account of his death in late Amidist sources like T 2070, 往生西方淨土瑞應傳 p 104.1.16; T 2071, 淨土往生傳 p. 110.2.8 sqq., T 2072 往生集 I p. 127.2.6 sqq. etc.

APPENDIX CHAPTER FOUR

¹ N.W. of the modern Tai 代 hsien in Northern Shansi.

² In 346 AD. The "inscription" of Chang Yeh 張野 (quoted in *SSHY comm.* I B/27 a-b, cf. above, note 121) dates this event when Hui-yüan was twelve (eleven, according to our way of counting) years old, in 345 AD.

³ 許昌, the modern Hsü-ch'ang hsien in central Honan.

⁴ In 354 AD, when he was twenty years old according to our way of counting.

⁵ The region South of the lower Yangtze.

⁶ *I.e.*, Fan Hsüan 范宣, *tsu* 宣子, a retired scholar, famous for his knowledge of the Rites. According to his biography (*CS* 91.8b-9a) he was an orthodox Confucianist, opposed to the study of *Lao-tzu* and *Chuang-tzu* and to the anti-ritualistic tendencies prevalent among the gentry in his time. It is remarkable that Hui-yüan, the *hsüan-hsüeh* specialist, wanted to join this moralistic scholiast at the poor little farm at Yü-chang 豫章 (the modern Nan-ch'ang 南昌, Kiangsi) where he spent most of his life studying and working in the fields. He was much admired and materially supported by several members of the highest gentry; later, after 376 AD, he and the famous Fan Ning 范寧 (another conservative Confucianist, since that year prefect of Yü-chang) did much to revive Confucian classical studies in the Kiangsi region. Fan Hsüan died at the age of fifty-three; since his son Fan Chi 輯 (biographical note *CS ib.*) had already filled several important posts before the *i-hsi* era (405-418), Fan Hsüan must have died before the end of the fourth century. When Hui-yüan wanted to join him ca. 354 AD he must consequently have been a young man of Hui-yüan's age. Hui-yüan's wish to join him is already recorded in the "Inscription" of Chang Yeh, *SSHY comm.* IB/27a.

⁷ 共契; *CSTCC XV* 109.2.15 has 共契嘉通; the last two characters figure in *KSC* only in the Korean edition. 嘉通 is a variant form of 嘉遊 "(to practice) noble retirement", cf. *I-ching*, hex. 33, comment on the fifth unbroken line: 嘉遊,貞吉,以正志也。

⁸ *CSTCC XV* 109.2.15 has ... "it happened that 'the King's road' was blocked" 值王路屯阻. For the expression 王路 (here denoting "government" or "the condition of the empire" in general), cf. *Shu-ching* IV.4 (ch. 洪範): 無有作惡,遵王之路 (trsl. Karlgren p. 32: "Have no aversions and follow the King's road"). The *KSC* here wrongly refers to the "troubles of the Shih clan" following the death of Shih Hu as the reason why Hui-yüan could not go to the South. These troubles had actually only lasted till 352, after which conditions in the North had been stabilized again. Around 354 AD the region of Hsü-ch'ang and Loyang had become the scene of other wars, cf. above, p. 206. The "inscription" of Chang Yeh (*SSHY comm.* IB/27a) merely says "the roads were blocked and impassable" 道阻不通。

⁹ An anachronism: Tao-an only assumed the religious surname *Shih* when he was living at Hsiang-yang, *i.e.*, after 365 AD. Cf. above, p. 189.

¹⁰ This happened in 354 AD, according to *KSC* VI (biography of Hui-yüan's brother Hui-ch'ih 慧持) 362.2.16. For a discussion of the date, cf. Tang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 344. It seems that Hui-yüan after having given up his plan to cross the Yangtze had returned to the North, perhaps to his native Yen-men, and that he met Tao-an in Western Hopei on his way home. *CSTCC* says 於關左邊見道安 without specifying the place.

¹¹ For the term 像法 = *pratirūpaka-dharma* cf. E. Chavannes and S. Lévi in *J.As.* 1916, p. 194, and P. Pelliot in *TP* XXV p. 92-94 and XXVI p. 51-52. Actually the "counterfeit Doctrine" means the second stage in the gradual deterioration of the religion, intermediate between the thousand years of "correct" Doctrine and the last phase of "final" Doctrine, at the end of which the *dharma* has practically disappeared from the world. Here it hardly means anything more than "Buddhism" in general.

¹² This saying attributed by Hui-chiao to Hui-yüan does not figure in *CSTCC* or in Chang Yeh's inscription: the expression 九流 goes back to the description of the different "schools of philosophy" in the bibliographical chapter of the *Han-shu* (*HS* 30).

¹³ *I.e.*, he accepted the tonsure.

¹⁴ 季命; *CSTCC* has here 季實 "entrusted himself as a hostage (to the *triratna*)".

¹⁵ The text has 貧旅 "poor travellers", which I take to be a mistake for 貧族 "poor family".

¹⁶ For this disciple see above, p. 199.

¹⁷ 實相, *bhūtalakṣaṇa*(?), *satyalakṣaṇa*(?), thus rendered by Et. Lamotte (*Traité, passim*), but I have been unable to find proofs of this restitution; it occurs frequently in Kumārajīva's terminology for *dharmatā* or *dharmadhātu* (besides 法性), especially in the combination 諸法實相. Cf. the remarks by Shirado Waka 白土和' in *Indogaku-Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* IV.2 (March 1956) p. 466-467.

¹⁸ This would imply that other disciples were not allowed to do so—perhaps an indication of Tao-an's aversion of *ko-i* (cf. above, p. 184)?

¹⁹ For these disciples see above, p. 199. This episode occurs already in Chang Yeh's "Inscription" (*SSHY comm.* IB/27a).

²⁰ Cf. *KSC* V (biography of Tao-an) 352.3.18: 安在樊沔十五載 ..., and trsl. Link, p. 26, note 4.

²¹ A mistake; Fu P'i laid siege to Hsiang-yang in 378 and took the city in 379, cf. above, p. 198. *CSTCC* has 晉太元之初 ...

²² T 598, Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Sāgaranāgarājaparipṛcchā* (trsl. 285 AD, cf. *CSTCC* II 7.2.24). Apart from the important role played by *nāgas* ("dragons" 龍) in this sūtra, it does not contain any element especially devoted to exorcism or rain-making. For another early case of the *Hai-lung wang ching* being recited in order to make rain, see *Fa-yüan chu-lin* LXIII 764.2, quoting *Ming-hsiang chi*. According to *Fa-yüan chu-lin* (*ib.*, 764.3), the two miracles performed by Hui-yüan also occurred in this collection of pious tales, the account of which no doubt was copied by Hui-chiao.

²³ Biography in *KSC* VI 362.1.11, cf. above, p. 199. The Hsi-lin ssu where he lived had been founded for him in 367 by T'ao Fan 陶範, cf. Tang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 346. T'ao Fan was one of the many sons of T'ao K'an (cf. below, note 41); his name occurs in the latter's biography (*CS* 66.6b), but nothing is said about his life.

²⁴ Huan I, who as a general played an important role in the battle on the Fei-shui, became governor of Chiang-chou (residing at Hsün-yang) in 384, and held this post till his death ca. 392; cf. his biography in *CS* 81.5b-7a. As Tang Yung-t'ung remarks (*History*, p. 346), the late tradition according to which the Tung-lin monastery was founded in 386 AD may consequently be correct.

²⁵ 香爐峰: the northern summit of the Lu-shan, the top of which is constantly

wrapped in a haze, cf. the fragment of Hui-yüan's *Lu-shan chi* 廬山記 quoted in Li Shan's 李善 commentary on *Wen-hsüan* 12.256: 香爐山孤峰獨秀, 氣籠其上, 則氤氳若香煙。

²⁶ Reading 徑道去 in st. of 徑 (var. 徑) 道取, cf. the sub-title of Hui-yüan's 佛影銘, *KHMC* XV 197.3.9: 度流沙從徑道去此一萬八千五十里... On the "shadow of the Buddha" cf. above, ch. IV note 229.

²⁷ On this icon and its function cf. above, p. 224. The following hymns occur in a slightly different version in *KHMC* XV 197.3 sqq. In the translation we have in general followed this version, which is probably directly based upon the text of these hymns as the compiler of *KHMC* found them in Hui-yüan's collected works. Needless to say that the translation of several passages from this difficult and hyper-rhetorical text must remain hypothetical. In spite of its obscurity and extreme artificiality, the Hymns on the Shadow of the Buddha are very interesting as specimens of early Buddhist "metaphysical poetry".

²⁸ 大象, cf. *Tao te ching* 35: 執大象, 天下往, and *ib.* 41: 大象無形, 道隱無名。

²⁹ Reading, with most editions, 愈 in stead of 逾。

³⁰ Reading, with most editions of *KHMC*, 兩冥. The Korean edition of *KHMC* and most editions of *KSC* have 迹絕而冥 "its traces disappear, and it is darkened"; the Korean edition of *KSC* has 香冥 in stead of 兩冥。

³¹ Reading, with *KSC* and the Korean edition of *KHMC*, 淡虛; the 該虛 in the other editions of *KHMC* is obviously a copyist's mistake.

³² Reading, with *KSC* 冲姿 in stead of 中姿。

³³ 白毫, *urnā(keśa)*, one of the thirty-two *lakṣaṇa*, the white curl of hair between the Buddha's eyebrows, represented as emitting a ray of light, either permanently or at special occasions; cf. *Hōbōgirin* s.v. *byakugō*.

³⁴ Reading, with *KSC*, 靖 in stead of 靜。

³⁵ Reading, with *KHMC*, 震 in stead of 開。

³⁶ Reading, with *KHMC*, 伊 in stead of 聖。

³⁷ Cf. *Tao te ching* 14: 聽之不聞名曰希, and *ib.* 41: 大音希聲。

³⁸ Reading, with *KHMC* and the Korean edition of *KSC*, 以 instead of 似。

³⁹ In *KHMC* the four-syllable pattern, maintained throughout the whole text of the hymns, is here broken, the last four lines of IV consisting of six and five syllables. In the *KSC* these lines have been made to accord with the stylistic form of the rest of the poem by eliminating two or one syllable from each line—an attempt at regularization which proves that we here have to do with a secondary and less reliable version.

KHMC: 清氣迴於軒宇
昏明交而未曙
髣髴鏡神儀
依佛若真遇

KSC: 清氣迴軒
昏交未曙
髣髴神容
依佛欽遇

⁴⁰ 飲和至柔, cf. *Tao te ching* 78: 天下莫柔於水。

⁴¹ This episode—of doubtful historicity—takes us back at least sixty years before Hui-yüan came to Mt. Lu. T'ao K'an (259-334), a famous general and magistrate of the late Western and early Eastern Chin, had become military governor of Kuang-chou in 315 AD (cf. his biography in *CS* 66.4a sqq., esp. p. 6b, and 'b. 6.5a). The sources do not mention any other contacts between him and the Buddhist clergy, but one of his sons appears to have sponsored Hui-yung 慧永 at Hsün-yang (cf. above, note 23). The story of the statue occurs in a more detailed and more legendarized version in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* (XIII 386.3) where it is defined as an image of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī; no source is indicated. See also Tao-hsüan's less miraculous account in *KHMC* XV 203.1.22 sqq., and below, p. 279.

⁴² For the "relics of Aśoka" in medieval China cf. below, p. 277.

⁴³ Popular sayings and ditties have often been taken as omens—after the event. For a collection of such songs see Tu Wen-lan 杜文瀾, *Ku yao-yen* 古謠諺 (1861, reedited Peking 1958).

⁴⁴ For these persons cf. above, p. 217 sqq.

⁴⁵ 無量壽 is actually a translation of Amitāyus "Infinite Life"—a name which probably more appealed to the interest of the Chinese than 無量光 (Amitābha, "Infinite Light"), the other name by which this Buddha is commonly known, and which stresses the immeasurable light radiating from him rather than his longevity and that of the inhabitants of his paradise. The name Amitāyus occasionally occurs in the *Sukhāvativyūha* (ch. 31, trsl. F. Max Müller p. 47), but there much more emphasis is laid upon Amitābha as the lord of all-pervading light; cf. the long enumeration of his different names, all containing an element which means "light" (Amitābha, Amitaprabha, Amitaprabhāsa, Asamāptaprabha etc.) in *Sukhāvativyūha* 12 (trsl. F. Max Müller p. 29-30).

⁴⁶ The zodiacal sign 攝提 indicates a year with the cyclical appellation *yin* 寅, corresponding in this period with the years 390, 402 and 414 AD. The year 402 AD must be meant here (cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 342).

⁴⁷ 三報: the three types of karmic retribution, viz., "immediate retribution" 現報 (*dr̥ṣṭadharmavedaniya-karman*, "acts to be felt in the present life"), "retribution (after one) birth" 生報 (*upapadya-vedaniya-karman*) and "retribution in a (still) later (life)" 後報 (*aparaparyāyavedaniya-karman*), cf. *Abh. Kośa* IV. 115 and V.216. Hui-yüan was much interested in the scholastic speculations about the process of retribution; his source was very probably the ?*Abhidharmahr̥daya*, a Sarvāstivādin compendium translated at his request by Saṅghadeva during the latter's stay at the Lu-shan in 391/392 AD (T 1550, in 4 ch.), and revised by Hui-yüan himself. A short treatise by Hui-yüan, devoted to this subject, has been preserved: "On the Three Kinds of Retribution" 三報論 (*HMC* V 34.2, cf. above, p. 16 *sub* 10).

⁴⁸ Cf. Hui-yüan's own words in the fourth section of his *Sha-men pu-ching wang-che lun* (*HMC* V 31.1.4, trsl. Hurvitz p. 25): 夫幽宗曠邈. 神道精微, 可以理尋. 難以事詰.

⁴⁹ 必感之有物, tentative translation.

⁵⁰ 叩篇: lit. "investigating the sections (of the sūtras)?"

⁵¹ Probably an allusion to the practice of "visualization" of Amitābha who as a result of mental concentration upon the Buddha (*buddhānusr̥ṣṭi*) appears to the devotee either during this concentration or in his sleep.

⁵² 子來, cf. *Shih-ching*, ode 242 (*Ta-ya* I.8.1, 靈臺): 經始勿亟. 庶民子來.

⁵³ 影存神造; tentative translation. For 靈圖 I read, with *CSTCC* XV 109.3.25, 靈圖. It cannot be an allusion to the "Shadow of the Buddha" (cf. above) which was only made ca. nine years after this event.

⁵⁴ Reading, with most ed. of *CSTCC* XV 110.1.2, 靈嶠 in stead of 雲嶠 "clouded mountain-peaks".

⁵⁵ 稟征, allusion to *I-ching*, hexagram 11 (泰), on the first unbroken line: 拔茅茹以其稟征吉 "the grass is plucked out together with its kind. The attack will bring fortune". Wang Pi's interpretation: the roots of the grass are interwoven and connected with each other, so that one blade, if extracted, will draw the other with it—in the same way the superior man after having risen to a high position will not forget his old comrades who have lagged behind.

⁵⁶ Reading, with *CSTCC* XV 110.1.4, 然後 in stead of 然後.

⁵⁷ 瓊柯: the magic tree of jade on the summit of Mt. K'un-lun, the fruits of which are jewels containing the elixir of immortality; it measures three hundred fathoms in circumference and is a hundred thousand feet tall, cf. *Ch'u-tz'u*, *Li-sao*, *SPTK* ed. I 31b and 44a. This ancient Chinese belief closely resembles the traditional Buddhist representation of the miraculous trees in Sukhāvati, elaborated at great length in *Sukhāvativyūha* XVI (trsl. F. Max Müller, p. 33 sqq.): there are trees made of gold, silver, beryl, crystal, coral, red pearls, diamonds and various combinations of these, etc. For this resemblance between Sukhāvati and the Taoist fairyland (also traditionally located in the far West) cf. also H. Maspero, *Les religions chinoises*, p. 72.

T'ang Yung-t'ung (*History*, p. 368) regards the passage about the blessed seated on lotus flowers as a mere rhetorical ornament, but he also points out that the later tradition about the alleged foundation of the "Lotus Society" 蓮社 may have been inspired by the same idea.

⁵⁸ 三塗: the three *durgati*, viz. rebirth as inhabitants of Hell, *pretas* or animals.

⁵⁹ The origin of the *ju-i* sceptre, a familiar symbol of the Buddhist doctrine, is rather prosaic: it was an instrument used to scratch itching spots on the back which could not be reached by the hands (hence the name: "according to one's wishes"!). The instrument is first attested in secular sources: according to *SSHY* IIB/5b a metal *ju-i* was used by Wang Tun 王敦 (266-324), and *CS* 33.12a speaks of one handled by Shih Ch'ung 石崇 (249-300). In an earlier but rather unreliable source, the *Shih i chi* 拾遺記 (in its present form a compilation of fragments of the original late fourth century work by Wang Chia 王嘉), we read about *ju-i* made of precious materials in the possession of Sun Ch'üan 孫權 (181-252 AD) and Sun Ho 孫和 (224-252), cf. *Shih i shi*, *Han-Wei ts'ung-shu* ed. 8.3b and 6b. In all these cases the *ju-i* is not used as a scratcher but as a "play-thing" used to point to persons at a meeting, to beat time when singing, to tap on or to strike against various objects etc., more or less in the same way as the "fly-whisk" was used in *ch'ing-i'an* (cf. above, p. 95). Like the fly-whisk, the Chinese *ju-i* may have been taken over by cultured priests in the fourth century AD. On the other hand, a kind of back-scratcher seems to have been one of the objects which regularly figured in the inventory of the Buddhist priests: in Chu Fo-nien's late fourth cent. translation of the ?*Dharmaguptakavinaya* 四分律 (T 1428) the *ju-i* is mentioned in a list of such objects (T 1428 XIX p. 694.1.6), and in the early eleventh century *Shih-shih yao-lan* 釋氏要覽 (T 2127, by Tao-ch'eng 道誠, 1019 AD) the Sanskrit name for such an instrument is given as 阿那律 *anuruddha*, "soothed", "pacified", cf. *anurodha* "obliging", "fulfilling one's wishes" (the meaning "scratcher" does not occur in the dictionaries), which is the real meaning of *ju-i* (T 2127 II p. 279.2.28). It is not clear how and why this humble instrument could become the most venerable attribute of the Buddhist priest, unless we assume that the *ju-i* 如意 came in some way to be associated with the *ju-i pao* 如意寶, the "wish-fulfilling gem" (*cintāmani*) which plays such an important role in Indian Buddhist and non-Buddhist mythology.

⁶⁰ Not mentioned elsewhere.

⁶¹ Not mentioned elsewhere.

⁶² Yin Chung-k'an became governor of Ching-chou in November 398 (cf. above, p. 113).

⁶³ 移果 (= 影, cf. the expression 移晷), implying that a rather long time had elapsed since they began to converse.

⁶⁴ Cf. *SSHY* IB/27a-b, and above, p. 213.

⁶⁵ Lived 360-407. For Wang Mi and his role as "defender of the faith" cf. above, p. 213 and 232 sqq.

⁶⁶ Not mentioned elsewhere.

⁶⁷ 耳順, allusion to *Lun-yü* II.4.5: 六十而耳順. Since Wang Mi had been born in 360 AD, this letter must have been written in 399 AD, shortly before Huan Hsüan's rise to power.

⁶⁸ I.e. Hsün-yang. Lu Hsün launched his great offensive against Chiang-chou and the capital in 409/410 AD, cf. above, p. 157.

⁶⁹ 音問, mostly used for "correspondence". All editions except the Korean one have 音介, where 介 is obviously a mistake for the cursive form of 問.

⁷⁰ This seems to be the name of a village; I have been unable to localize it.

⁷¹ *CSTCC* XV 110.1.16 mentions only Fa-ching, about whom nothing further is known. Fa-ling went to Khotan where he assembled a great number of texts; among these was a Sanskrit manuscript of the *Avatamsakasūtra* in 36.000 *ślokas*, which was later (in 418-420 AD) translated by Buddhahadra at the southern capital (*CSTCC*

IX 6.1.1, 華嚴經記, and KSC II, biogr. of Buddhābhaddra, p. 335.3.3 sqq.). From Central Asia he returned to Ch'angan ca. 408 AD, probably together with Kumārajīva's old teacher Buddhayaśas, cf. Sakaino Kōyō 境野黃洋, *Shina bukkyō seishi* 支那佛教精史 (Tōkyō 1935), p. 537-540; T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 306, *Jōron kenkyū* p. 43; W. Liebenthal, *the Book of Chao*, p. 98, notes 382 and 383.

⁷² About Dharmanandin's faulty translation of this work nothing is known from other sources. In its present form the *Abhidharmahrdaya* is an incomplete compendium of Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma attributed to (?) Dharmottara or (?) Dharmasī 法勝. Saṅghadeva first made a complete translation of this work at Loyang ca. 384 AD (cf. CSTCC II 10.3.10); this, in sixteen (var. thirteen) *chüan*, has been lost since T'ang times. As stated here, he made a second translation of the *A-p'i-t'an-hsin* at Hui-yüan's request during his stay at Mt. Lu in 391/392 AD, but this was actually an extract of the original text, and this version, in three *chüan*, is no doubt the one preserved in the canon (T 1550).

⁷³ 三法度論, another Sarvāstivādin compendium attributed to Vasubhadra 山賢 and Saṅghasena 僧伽先, in three (var. two) *chüan*; T 1506.

⁷⁴ CSTCC X contains two prefaces to Saṅghadeva's (abridged) version of the *Abhidharmahrdaya* made in 391/392 AD: one anonymous (p. 62.2.16 sqq.) and one by Hui-yüan (p. 62.3.1 sqq.), and Hui-yüan's preface to the *San fa-tu lun* (*ib.* p. 63.1.1 sqq.).

⁷⁵ 姚嵩, a younger brother of Yao Hsing and an ardent Buddhist who actively took part in the translation activities at Ch'angan. His titles were Regional Inspector for the Metropolitan Area 司隸校尉, General of the Left 左將軍 and Marquis of An-ch'eng 安城侯, cf. CSTCC VIII 57.3.12 (Seng-jui's 法華經後序, 406 AD); in CSTCC XI 77.3.2 (Seng-chao's 百論序, 404 AD) he is only called 司隸校尉安城侯, so that his letter to Hui-yüan probably was written after 404, when he had obtained the title of "General of the Left" mentioned by Hui-yüan. A correspondence on doctrinal subjects between him and Yao Hsing has been preserved in KHMC XVIII 228.1-230.1.

⁷⁶ 承不速之會, tentative translation. The 否 used here instead of the common 不 probably alludes to the 12th hexagram of the *I-ching*, named *fou* 否, which is held to symbolize the unhappy state in which "Heaven and Earth have no contact with each other, and the beings do not communicate", cf. *T'uan-chuan* XII, trsl. Legge p. 224.

⁷⁷ 懷寶來遊至止; translation uncertain. I have taken Huai-pao to be a proper name; it could also mean "You (Kumārajīva) have come to stay here, carrying the jewel (of the doctrine) in your bosom", but I do not see how this could be connected with either the preceding or the following sentence.

⁷⁸ 三方同遊. I do not know what "Three Regions" are meant here.

⁷⁹ 教令之道 is so obscure that I cannot offer even a hypothetical translation.

⁸⁰ 八正之路, a variation of 八正道, the "Eightfold Noble Path" (*āryaṣṭāṅga-mārga*) of Buddhism.

⁸¹ 滿願 renders Pūrṇa, here probably the disciple Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇiputra who frequently figures as one of the interlocutors in the *Prajñāpāramitā*.

⁸² 天鹿之器 seems to refer to the filtering-bag (commonly called 漉水袋), used by Buddhist monks to strain off living creatures from the water they want to use. The 天, which makes no sense here, is probably an error for 水.

⁸³ 和南 = *vandanam* ("obeisance", "worship"), a formula of salutation, also commonly used by Chinese monks in their correspondence.

⁸⁴ I do not know to what scripture Kumārajīva refers or what Bodhisattva he has in mind; throughout the canon we find a great many Bodhisattvas, Gods, Yakṣas etc. considered as "protectors" of the Doctrine in general or of a particular scripture. Or does Kumārajīva mean to say that Hui-yüan answers to the description of that Bodhisattva himself? In that case we may associate these words with the curious

passage in Hui-yüan's biography (below, p. 248) which already occurs in Chang Yeh's "Inscription", and which states that the monks in foreign countries (c.g. Central Asia) used to pay homage to the Master of Mt. Lu at all religious ceremonies. When Kumārajīva wrote this letter (probably ca. 405 AD), Hui-yüan had already become famous as the defender of the Church against Huan Hsüan's anti-clerical policy, so that the name "Bodhisattva who Protects the Doctrine" could rightly be applied to him. For the use of the term "Bodhisattva" denoting Buddhist masters cf. above, p. 32; applied to Tao-an cf. above, p. 199.

⁸⁵ 因譯得意, 蓋其能盡 ; an important remark, which shows that Kumārajīva, in spite of what is commonly told about him, was still having considerable difficulties with the Chinese language, and that he probably still made use of interpreters in his correspondence with Chinese like Hui-yüan and Wang Mi.

⁸⁶ No doubt a *kundi* (or *kundikā*), the type of Indian water-vessel commonly known in the West under the name of "sprinkler bottle": a vessel with a full body and two openings: one lateral orifice on the shoulder used for filling the *kundi* with water, and one narrow and slightly curved spout on the neck of the bottle, from which the water is drunk, or rather sprinkled into the mouth. Cf. *Hōbōgirin* p. 265 sqq., s.v. *Byō*² (瓶), and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Francis Stewart Kershaw, "A Chinese Buddhist water vessel and its Indian prototype", *Artibus Asiae* 1928/29, p. 122-141. In the latter article the authors state that the *kundi*, which in India is attested from Maurya or pre-Maurya times onward, does not appear in the archeology and art of the Far East before the eighth century. However, the present text clearly demonstrates that vessels of this type, imported from Central Asia or Northern India by foreign monks, circulated in China at least as early as the beginning of the fifth century.

⁸⁷ An interesting fact which is not mentioned in Kumārajīva's biographies or in any other source.

⁸⁸ For T'an-yung cf. above, p. 210. Hui-yüan's letter to Dharmaruci has been preserved in the latter's biography, *KSC* II 333.2.1 sqq. and in *CSTCC* III 20.2.5 sqq. (in Seng-yu's account 記錄 of the translation of this work).

⁸⁹ Cf. *CSTCC loc.cit.*; *KSC* II (biogr. of (?) Puṇyatara 弗若多羅) 333.1.14 sqq.; *ib.* (biogr. of Dharmaruci), 333.2.14 sqq.; *ib.* (biogr. of Vimalākṣa 卑摩羅叉) 333.2.26 sqq. The first part of the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya* (T 1435, 61 ch.) had been recited by Puṇyatara, Kumārajīva translating the text into Chinese; the work of translation had begun on December 3, 404 AD. When two-thirds of the text had been translated, Puṇyatara died, and since Kumārajīva apparently could not "produce" (i.e., recite from memory) the remaining chapters, the work was interrupted. In the autumn of 405 Dharmaruci arrived at Ch'angan and, after having received Hui-yüan's letter, resumed the recital of the text, Kumārajīva again acting as translator. Still only fifty-eight out of the sixty-one *chüan* were rendered, and Kumārajīva died before the text had been duly revised. Finally Vimalākṣa, another Vinaya-master from Kashmir who had arrived at Ch'angan in 406, added the three remaining chapters shortly after Kumārajīva's death. *Tantae molis* . . .

⁹⁰ This episode occurs already in Chang Yeh's "Inscription", *SSHY* IB/27a.

⁹¹ An allusion to the tenet of the eternity of the "Buddha-nature" immanent in all individuals, as expounded in the (Mahāyana) *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*?

⁹² If this "sūtra" alluded to by Kumārajīva is indeed the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (which is very probable, in view of the purport of Hui-yüan's words), then this passage can hardly be historical, for there is indeed every reason to assume that Kumārajīva was not acquainted with the contents of this "revolutionary" sūtra at all.

⁹³ For Hui-yüan's contacts with Yao Hsing cf. above, p. 212.

⁹⁴ For Yao Sung cf. above, note 75. Cf. the presents sent by Fu Chien to Tao-an, some 40 years earlier, above, p. 188. The *CSTCC* XV 110.2.4 defines Yao Hsing's

presents as 窟在國細鐫雜變石像, "delicately carved stone images of various scenes (from sūtras), from Kuchā".

⁹⁵ ?*Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra*, the gigantic commentary on the 25,000 p'p', attributed (certainly without reason) to Nāgārjuna, and translated by Kumārajīva; the Chinese version (in 100 ch.) was completed on February 1, 406 AD (cf. the preface by Seng-juī in *CSTCC* X 74.3 and the anonymous colophon on the *Ta chih-tu lun*, *ib.* 75.2). The work has been preserved (T 1509); about one-fourth (ch. I-XVIII) has been translated and copiously annotated by Et. Lamotte: *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna*, Louvain, 1944-1949. The Indian original—if it ever existed!—has been lost so completely that even the title cannot be restored with certainty; it is nowhere mentioned or quoted in Indian Buddhist literature, nor has it ever been translated into Tibetan, in spite of its immense importance as a veritable mine of information on Mahāyāna Buddhism. It was, moreover, never translated into Chinese for a second time, so that Kumārajīva's translation is the only existing version of this work. The author was no doubt a Sarvāstivādin, well-versed in the Abhidharma of this school which flourished in North-Western India, who had been converted to the Mādhyamika doctrine of which this treatise forms the most comprehensive exposition. Kumārajīva, who was such a convert himself, probably became acquainted with it at Kuchā or at one of the other Serindian centres where he had been living. The somewhat puzzling facts mentioned above could, indeed, be explained by a possible Central Asian origin of the *Ta chih-tu lun*. For the nature of the work and the circumstances of its translation cf. P. Demiéville in his detailed review of the second volume of the *Traité*, in *J.As.*, 1950, p. 375-395. The problem of the authorship of the *Ta chih-tu lun* has recently been discussed in some detail by Hikata Ryusho in the introduction to his edition of the *Suvikrāntavikrāmi-paripṛcchā* (Fukuoka, 1958, p. LII sqq.); the author makes an attempt to separate the later accretions (by Kumārajīva and others) from an ancient nucleus which in his view must indeed be attributed to Nāgārjuna.

⁹⁶ Paraphrase of *Chuang-tzu* XVIII (至樂) p. 111: 積小者不可以懷大, 積短者不可以汲深. *CSTCC* has 積 in stead of 積.

⁹⁷ Hui-yüan's preface to the *Ta chih-tu lun*, composed at Yao Hsing's request, has not been preserved; it is not listed among Hui-yüan's works in the table of contents of Lu Ch'eng's *Fa-lun* (*CSTCC* XII 83.1 sqq.), but it is mentioned in *Ta T'ang NTL* III, T 2149 p. 248.1.23. His preface to the extract of the *Ta chih-tu lun* is found in *CSTCC* X 75.2 (大智論抄片). This extract in 20 *chüan*, also known as *Po-jo ching wen lun chi* 般若經問論集, *Ta chih lun yao-lüeh* 大智論要略 and *Shih-lun yao-ch'ao* 釋論要抄, is mentioned in *CSTCC* II 13.3.12 and V 38.1.18, and in most later catalogues: Fa-ching's *Chung-ching mu-lu* (504 AD), T 2146, VI 145.1.1; *Ta T'ang NTL* (664 AD), T 2149, III 248.1.15 and X 330.1.25; *K'ai-yüan SCL* (730 AD) T 2154, IV 515.3.9; *Chen-yüan hsin-ting shih-chiao mu-lu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 (800 AD), T 2157, VI 812.3.1. After the last mentioned date Hui-yüan's extract is not mentioned any more in bibliographical sources.

⁹⁸ 立身行道: a quotation from the first chapter of the *Hsiao-ching* (*chu-shu* ed. 1.3a; trsl. Legge p. 466), where the highest perfection of filial piety is defined as "to establish oneself (in life) and to tread the Way (i.e., to live according to right principles), and to exalt one's name for later generations, in order thereby to render illustrious one's father and mother" 立身行道, 揚名於後世, 以顯父母, 孝之終也. On the Buddhist view, repeatedly brought forward in apologetical literature, that the monastic life is actually the highest fulfilment of filial piety, see below, p. 283.

⁹⁹ Huan Hsüan's letter in which he tries to persuade Hui-yüan to give up the religious life has been preserved, together with Hui-yüan's answer: *HMC* XI 75.1-6 sqq.

¹⁰⁰ An allusion to the proverb "Cinnabar may be ground but it cannot be deprived of its redness; stone may be broken but it cannot be deprived of its hardness", 丹可磨而不可奪其赤, 石可破而不可奪其堅. It first occurs in *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* XII.4 p. 119 (trsl. Wilhelm p. 149).

¹⁰¹ The full text of Huan Hsüan's letter to the Ministers is reproduced in *HMC* XII 85.1.12 sqq. For Huan Hsüan's favourable words about the community at Lu-shan, cf. the analogous measure of Fu Chien (337-384 AD) exempting the monastery of Chu Seng-lang 竺僧朗 at the T'ai-shan from state control, *KSC* V 354.2.14.

¹⁰² *KSC* has here 淪濟將及; Hui-yüan's letter as reproduced in *HMC* XII 85.2.2. reads 混然淪濟. In both texts 淪濟 is a mistake for 淪胥 "to be lost together", cf. *Shih-ching*, Ode 194 (II.iv.10.1, 兩無正): 若此無罪, 淪胥以鋪.

¹⁰³ Allusion to *Shih-ching*, Ode 35 (I.iii.10.3, 谷風): 溼以涓澍.

¹⁰⁴ The full text of Hui-yüan's letter is reproduced in *HMC* XII 85.1.29 sqq. For the regulations proposed by Hui-yüan cf. below, p. 260.

¹⁰⁵ From April/May 402 till January 2, 404; cf. above, p. 155.

¹⁰⁶ 八座: since Later Han times a general designation of the 六曹 six ministers together with the *Shang-shu ling* 尚書令 and the *p'u-yeh* 僕射.

¹⁰⁷ Reading, with the Korean edition of *KSC* and *HMC* XII 83.3.5, 此便當行之事.

¹⁰⁸ The text of Hui-yüan's letter as quoted here considerably deviates from the one reproduced in *HMC* XII 83.3.10 sqq. Cf. above, p. 237.

¹⁰⁹ 激流, one of the stereotyped expressions denoting the "retired life".

¹¹⁰ On January 2, 404 AD. Cf. above, p. 156.

¹¹¹ Huan Hsüan's order was of course an imperial edict 詔, since he had already ascended the throne. In *KSC* this document is called a "letter" 書, probably on account of the "illegal" character of Huan's rule, but in *HMC* XII 84.2.25 it is indeed entitled 桓楚 (Huan's abortive Ch'u dynasty) 許道人不致禮詔.

¹¹² For considerably different version of Huan's edict see *HMC* XII, *loc.cit.*

¹¹³ *KSC* has 故與其敬 which makes no sense. I follow the *HMC* text which reads 故寧與其敬耳. My translation remains tentative: 此 in the sense of 許: "to grant", "to let them have . . .?"

¹¹⁴ 謙光, allusion to *I-ching*, hexagram 15 (謙): 謙尊而光.

¹¹⁵ 禮敬為本 (trsl. Hurvitz p. 20 mistranslated as "Propriety and reverence have their foundation herein"), allusion to the opening words of the *Li-chi* (*Ch'ü-li*, I 1): 曰禮曰. 毋不敬.

¹¹⁶ Reading, in accordance with the Yüan and Ming editions and the version of *HMC*, 夫然故 . . . in stead of 大德故 . . .

¹¹⁷ The text of the *Sha-men pu-ching wang-che lun* in *HMC* V 30.2.15 reads 開闢 "widely to open . . .".

¹¹⁸ 在宥; for this expression cf. *Chuang-tzu* XI (ch. 在宥) p. 62: 開在宥天下. 不闢治天下也 etc. *Lit.* "to let the people dwell (in freedom) and to be lenient towards (them)".

¹¹⁹ 不兼應者物不能兼受也; it is not clear what Hui-chiao means by this gloss. Does it refer to Buddhism and Confucianism?

¹²⁰ 識神馳驚隨行東西. These words do not occur in the text of the fifth section of Hui-yüan's treatise as reproduced in *HMC* V 31.2.10 sqq.

¹²¹ In March-April 404 AD, cf. below, note 123.

¹²² Ho Wu-chi was one of Liu Yü's partisans; he played an important role in the latter's offensive against Huan Hsüan in 404 AD, after which he obtained the title 輔國將軍 mentioned here. He died in the war against Lu Hsün in 410 AD, cf. his biography in *CS* 85.6a sqq. He does not appear to have been a Buddhist; *HMC* V 32.3 contains a letter with objections 難 raised by him against Hui-yüan's treatise on the *kāśāya* worn by the monks, 沙門袒服論.

¹²³ 陽月 normally denotes the tenth month of the lunar calendar, but this does not correspond with the date on which emperor An passed Hsün-yang, *i.e.*, between March 22, 405 when he left Chiang-ling and April 29 when he reached Chien'ang (cf. *CS* 10.5a), *i.e.*, in spring. 陽月 stands no doubt for 春月, the character 春 being taboo since 371 AD, as it occurred in the personal name of empress Cheng 鄭, the principal consort of emperor Chien-wen. For the same reason the title of various

historical works composed between that date and the end of the Chin dynasty contain the expression 陽秋 in stead of 春秋, such as Sun Sheng's 孫盛 *Chin yang-ch'iu* 晉陽秋, Hsi Ts'o-ch'ih's 習鑿齒 *Han-Chin yang-ch'iu* 漢晉陽秋 and T'an Tao-luan's 檀道鸞 *Hsü Chin yang-ch'iu* 續晉陽秋.

¹²⁴ On March 22, 405 AD, cf. previous note.

¹²⁵ Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433 AD, biogr. in *Sung-shu* 67.1a) was one of the most famous poets and calligraphers of his time. His career began under Liu Yü; after having filled various high posts in the first years of the Sung dynasty, he was suspected of plotting rebellion and executed in 433. Hsieh Ling-yün was a devout and learned Buddhist who actively took part in the ideological controversies which in the early fifth century rose in Buddhist circles, notably about the problem of "Sudden Enlightenment"; he was also active in the field of translation (c.q. the revision of translated scriptures) and exegesis. Although all this actually belongs to a phase of Chinese Buddhism which falls outside the scope of this study, we may give the reader an impression of the intensity of his Buddhist interests by listing the following data:

- (1) Hsieh Ling-yün had contacts with several Buddhist masters. Contact with Chu Tao-sheng 竺道生 appears from his exposition of the latter's doctrine of "Sudden Enlightenment" 頓悟 in his *Pien-tsung lun* 辨宗論, *KHMC* XVIII 224.3.25 sqq.
 - (2) *ib.* various letters on the same subject to and from other monks.
 - (3) He wrote eulogies on Hui-yüan and on T'an-lung 曇隆, text in *KHMC* XXIII 226.2.3 sqq.
 - (4) and a "hymn on Amitāyus" 無量壽佛頌, quoted in *IWLC* 76.11a;
 - (5) his "eulogy on a picture of the *Jetavana* made by Fan T'ai (范泰)", 和范先錄祇洹像贊 and his "Eulogy on the ten similes of the *Vimalakirti-sūtra*" 維摩經十摩贊 in *KHMC* XV 200.1.12 sqq.;
 - (6) his "inscription (dealing with) the shadow of the Buddha" 佛影銘 in *KHMC* XV 199.2.6.
 - (7) Together with the monks Hui-yen 慧嚴 and Hui-kuan 慧觀 he revised Dharmakṣema's version of the (Mahāyāna) *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra* in 36 ch., known as the Southern Recension (= T 375).
 - (8) He wrote a commentary on the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā* 金剛般若經注, quoted in Li Shan's commentary on Wang Chin's 王中 "Inscription on the *Dhūta-monastery*" 頭陀寺碑文, *Wen-hsüan* LIX p. 271.
 - (9) Together with the monk Hui-jui, 慧叡 he composed a glossary of Sanskrit terms (in Chinese transcription, but arranged according to the "fourteen (vowel-) sounds of the Sanskrit alphabet) 十四音訓序, cf. *KSC* VII 367.2.14; T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History* vol. II p. 339; Richard Mather, "The Landscape Buddhism of the Fifth-Century Poet Hsieh Ling-yün", *Journal of Asian Studies* XVIII.1 (November 1958) p. 67-79, esp. p. 72; A. F. Wright in *Sino-Indian Studies* V (1957) p. 279; P. Demiéville in *TP* XLV (1957) p. 243.
- ¹²⁶ *i.e.*, the *Sang-futa-chi* 喪服大記, a chapter of the *Li-chi* (ch. 45 of the *chu-shued.*).
- ¹²⁷ On secular studies on Mt. Lu cf. above, p. 230.
- ¹²⁸ Chang Yeh states in his "Inscription" that Hui-yüan had not left the mountain since his sixtieth year, *i.e.*, during the last twenty-three years of his life.
- ¹²⁹ According to Hsieh Ling-yün's "Eulogy" (廬山慧遠法師誄, *KHMC* XXIII 267.1.20), Hui-yüan died at the age of 84 on the sixth day of the eighth month of *i-hsi* 13, *i.e.*, September 2, 417 AD. On the other hand, Chang Yeh says in his "Inscription" that he was 83 when he died.
- ¹³⁰ Not mentioned elsewhere. Hui-yüan's grave is described in *Lu-shan chi* ch. I, T 2095 p. 29.1.25 sqq.
- ¹³¹ Hsieh Ling-yün's epitaph, with an introduction by Chang Yeh, is mentioned in Ch'en Shun-yü's 陳舜俞 *Lu-shan chi* 廬山記, ch. V (T 2095, p. 1048.2.9).
- ¹³² Apart from Hui-yüan's letters to Kumārajīva, which have been separately

transmitted in the collection *Ta-sheng ta i-chang* 大乘大義章 (cf. above, p. 226), the table of contents of Lu Ch'eng's *Fa-lun* (CSTCC XII 83.1 sqq.) mentions twenty-one treatises and letters, nine of which have been preserved (marked below with an asterisk): (1) 法性論, in two sections; (2) Answer by Hui-yüan to a letter entitled 論真人至極, the author of which is not mentioned; (3) 妙法蓮華經序; (4) 無三乘統略; (5) * 三法度經序; (6) 法社節度序; (7) 外寺僧節度序; (8) 節度序; (9) 比丘尼節度序; (10) ***Correspondence with Huan Hsüan, three letters" (no doubt those pertaining to the question of the Rites); (11) *Reply to Huan Hsüan's letter about the selection of the clergy; (12) *The treatise 沙門不敬王者論, in five sections; (13) *The treatise on the monk's garment, 沙門袒服論; (14) * 禪經序; (15) 釋神足; (16) * 阿毘曇心序; (17) * 禪三報論; (18) * 明報應論; (19) 辯心意識; (20) 釋神名; (21) 驗寄名. Hui-yüan's biography mentions furthermore his extract of the *Ta chih-tu lun* (cf. above, note 97) and contains quotations from his first two letters to Kumārajīva (above, p. 246-248), and the full text of his hymns on the Shadow of the Buddha (cf. above, p. 242-243 and note 27); in *HMC* XI 75.1 we find furthermore his answer to Huan Hsüan's request to give up the religious life, 答桓玄勸罷道士; in *KHMC* XV 198.2 his eulogy on a Buddha image at Hsiang-yang; *ib.* XVIII 222.2 his answer to a letter from Tai K'uei 戴逵; *ib.* XXVII 304.1 his letter to Liu I-min and other lay devotees; *ib.* XXX 351.2 his preface to a collection of poems on *Buddhānumṛti-samādhi* 念佛三昧詩序; parts of his *Lu-shan chi* are quoted in *SSHY* *comm.* II B/44b, *Wen-hsüan comm.* 12.256, 22.480, 26.583, *IWLC* 7.20b, *Shui-ching chu* 39.19a, T 2095 I 1027.3 and 1031.6, and *TPYL* 41.3b and 41.6a, and a fragment of his letter to the rebel Lu Hsün is reproduced in *IWLC* 87.20b and *TPYL* 972.7b.

CHAPTER FIVE

¹ *Digha* II.36 p. 60-61, *Dialogues* I p. 77, *Ch'ang a-han* (T I) XVII (27) 109.1.24.

² Each and every school of classical and post-classical Chinese philosophy is primarily concerned with the same fundamental problem: how must the world be governed? Each answer to this question represents what has strikingly been called by M. Granet "une certaine recette d'action civilisatrice" (*La pensée chinoise*, p. 17).

³ Cf. H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 2nd ed., p. 163. Ancestor worship was the private duty of each individual family and could only be practised by the direct descendants of the deceased. In Confucianism the originally religious function of the ruler has to some extent been secularized, the *pontifex maximus* (who was the emperor himself) being at the same time the highest dignitary in the bureaucratic hierarchy of the empire.

⁴ These elements may certainly be regarded as resulting from Buddhist influence or from conscious imitation of Buddhist institutions, cf. Fukui Kōjun 福井康順, *Dōkyō no kisokuteki-kenkyū* 道教的基礎的研究 (Tōkyō 1952) p. 112 sqq.

⁵ Cf. H. Maspero, *Le Taoisme* p. 44 and 152 sqq.; Fukui Kōjun, *op.cit.*, p. 1-92.

⁶ On the other hand, some attempts were made to prove the "Buddhist origin" of Chang Tao-ling's doctrine, cf. below, p. 319-320.

⁷ Fa-lin 法琳, *Pien-cheng lun* 辯正論 (written in 626 AD) III (T 2110) 502.3.9 and *Shih chia-fang-chih* 釋迦方志 II, T 2088, 973.3. The provenance of these numbers is unknown. Fa-lin's work, a polemic treatise, is rather unreliable; in the previous chapters we have had opportunity to demonstrate some glaring errors which it contains. Moreover, the fact that *nuns* are mentioned must arouse our suspicion: Ching-chien 淨檢, who according to *PCNC* I (T 2063 p. 934.3.2) was the first Chinese nun, was ordained some years after 313, i.e., in one of the very last years of the period to which Fa-lin's figures refer.

⁸ *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi* 洛陽伽藍記 by Yang Hsüan-chih 楊街之 (ca. 547),

introduction, p. 1a and ch. 4.3b. The number 42 is confirmed by Wei Shou's *Shih-Lao chih*, *Wei-shu* 114.3a, trsl. Ware p. 123, trsl. Hurvitz p. 47.

⁹ *Pien cheng lun* III (T 2110) 503.2.1. Cf. J. Gernet, *Aspects économiques* p. 3.

¹⁰ The title of a treatise by Hui-yüan, cf. above, p. 15 nr 6.

¹¹ 出家則是方外之賓 ; Hui-yüan, *Sha-men pu-ching wang-che lun* 沙門不敬王音論, section II, *HMC* V 30.2.6.

¹² *ib.* 30.2.11 sqq.

¹³ 溥天之下. 莫非王土. 率土之濱. 莫非王臣 ; *Shih-ching*, ode 209 (*Hsiao-ya* VI.1, *Pei-shan*), Legge p. 360.

¹⁴ See above, p. 106 sqq. and p. 231 sqq. The controversy about the Rites was essentially a southern phenomenon. In the North, the dignitaries of the state-sponsored church saw no objection in submitting to temporal powers and occasionally even encouraged the monks to "pay homage to the Ruler". Most characteristic are the words attributed to Fa-kuo 法果 (died 420 AD), house-chaplain of emperor T'ai-tsu of the Toba Wei: "T'ai-tsu is intelligent and loves the Way. As he is the Tathāgata of the present time, the *śramaṇas* should pay him all homage'. Hence he always did obeisance (to the emperor), saying to others: 'The one who is able to expand the Way (i.e., to make the religion prosper) is the lord of men. I am not bowing before the emperor, I am just paying homage to the Buddha!'" (*Shih-Lao chih*, *Wei-shu* 114.3b; trsl. Ware p. 128; trsl. Hurvitz p. 53).

¹⁵ *HMC* XII 84.3.3 = T 2108 II 451.2.21.

¹⁶ *HMC* XII 84.3.14 = T 2108 II 451.3.1.

¹⁷ Cf. *Tao te ching* ch. 25: "The Way is great, Heaven is great, Earth is great and the King is great. There are in the world four great ones and the King is one thereof. The King patterns himself on Earth, the Earth patterns itself on Heaven, Heaven patterns itself on the Way, and the Way patterns itself on the Natural" (trsl. Duyvendak, p. 65).

¹⁸ 王制: the title of the third book of the *Li-chi*.

¹⁹ Cf. *Tao te ching* ch. 13: "The reason why I suffer great disasters, is that I have a body. As soon as I have no body, what disaster can I suffer?" (trsl. Duyvendak p. 43).

²⁰ *Sheng-sheng* 生生, a term which here denotes the cosmic process of *karman* and rebirth, just as it in the *I-ching* (*Hsi-tz'u*, VII.13b, Legge p. 356) is used for the universal process of "change":

²¹ I.e., to enable others to be reborn as gods or human beings and to avoid rebirth in a lower *gati*.

²² *HMC* XI 83.3.19 = T 2108 (*Chi sha-men . . . teng shih*) II 448.1.8.

²³ *HMC* V 32.1.25 = T 2108 II 451.1.26.

²⁴ *HMC* V 32.2.6 = T 2108 II 451.2.8.

²⁵ In the preceding phrases in this letter Hui-yüan has exemplified this principle by referring to *Lun-yü* III.17, where Tzu-kung is rebuked by Confucius because he wished to do away with the offering of a sheep, the only vestige which had remained of the ancient ceremony of "announcing the first day of the month" (*kao shuo* 告朔).

²⁶ *HMC* XII 84.1.23.

²⁷ (1) Under Shih Hu (reigned 335-349, *KSC* IX 385.2.28; the order to investigate the *saṅgha* was issued shortly before Wang Tu's memorial, i.e., probably in 335, cf. below, note 74); (2) under Fu Chien (reigned 357-385), *KSC* V 354.2.14; (3) under Huan Hsüan, shortly before 402, cf. above p. 214 and 250; (4) under emperor Hsiao-wu of the Liu-Sung dynasty in or shortly after 435 (*Sung-shu* 97.6a); (5) a local selection, privately undertaken by Tu Pa 杜霸, prefect of Fu-liu 扶柳 (Chekiang), at some date in the first half of the fourth century (*PCNC* I 935.1.29).

²⁸ *KSC* IX 385.3.2.

²⁹ *KSC* IX 385.2.29.

³⁰ *HMC* XII 85.1.17; answer by Hui-yüan *ib.* 85.1.29.

³¹ *HMC* XII 85.1.14.

³² The conception of "hidden saintliness" is traditional in Chinese thought; the Mahāyānist doctrine of the "expediency" (*upāya*, *fang-pien* 方便) of the Saint may also have provided a justification for this attitude. "Ce que traduit l'attitude générale des moines chinois à l'égard des règles de la discipline, c'est cette idée: on ne sait jamais ou la sainteté peut se cacher. Ce peut-être sous les formes les plus profanes et les plus contraires à la décence religieuse" (Gernet, *Aspects économiques du Bouddhisme*, p. 241).

³³ 役門, lit. "from families liable to statute labour" (and hence from the lower classes, because the higher and more prosperous strata of society could obtain exemption).

³⁴ HMC XII 85.2.1.

³⁵ HMC XII 85.3.14.

³⁶ KHMC XXIV 272.2.8. cf. *Sung-shu* 97.6a. Note the severity of the punishment: disobedience to an imperial decree constituted—at least in Han times—a crime of the category *pu-ching* 不敬 ("nefas") warranting capital punishment (cf. Hulsewé, *Han Law*, p. 187-189).

³⁷ HMC XI 69.1.13, *Sung-shu* 97.5b. For the scarcity of bronze and the prohibition to use it for casting images ca. 420 AD, cf. KSC XIII 410.3.23 and 411.1.4 sqq.

³⁸ Gernet, *op.cit.*, p. 227 and p. 13-24.

³⁹ *Mou-tzu* section XVI, HMC I 4.1.15, trsl. Pelliot p. 306. *Wu-wei* 無為 is in Buddhist treatises regularly used for *Nirvāṇa*; for the Chinese readers the term remained no doubt associated with the idea of quietism, and in view of the context where *wu-wei* is opposed to the blameworthy "activities" of monks I have preferred to give a literal translation.

⁴⁰ *Chin-shu* 64.8b.

⁴¹ 或機巧異端以濟生業: it is not clear what exactly is meant. The term *i-tuan*, normally denoting "heterodox principles" (*Lun-yü* II.16) also occurs as an equivalent of 小道 "inferior ways or occupations" (Ho Yen 何晏 *ad Lun-yü* XIX.4, *chu-shu* ed. XIX.2a), in which meaning it probably is used here.

⁴² In his introduction (HMC VI 35.1.7), Tao-heng says that during the *i-hsi* era (405-418) two gentlemen named Yüan 袁 and Ho 何 had written a polemic essay about the five greatest evils of their time, which they had called the "Five subversive (elements)", *wu heng* 五衡, in imitation of Han Fei-tzu's well-known treatise "the Five Vermin", *wu tu* 五蠹. Tao-heng, seeing that the Buddhist clergy figured among these, feared lest "the minds of his contemporaries, blinded and dazzled, would forever be lost in heretical errors", and therefore composed his *Shih po lun* to prove the fallacy of these reasonings. The identity of Yüan and Ho is unknown. Ho is identified by T'ang Yung-t'ung (*History*, p. 350) with the general Ho Wu-chi 何無忌 (?-410), who shortly before his death engaged in a polemic correspondence with Hui-yüan about the offensive character of the monk's dress (see above, p. 16 no. 8). On the other hand one may think of Ho Ch'eng-t'ien 何承天 (370-447) who during the *i-hsi* era was an erudite (*po-shih*) at the imperial academy (*Sung-shu* 64.7a) and consequently in a position at the capital in which he could very well have published a moralistic treatise as described by Tao-heng. He was a fervent anti-Buddhist, cf. HMC III 18.1.19 sqq. and KHMC XVIII 224.1.22.

⁴³ HMC VI 35.2.6.

⁴⁴ *Mou-tzu*, section XVI, HMC I 4.1.24, trsl. Pelliot p. 306.

⁴⁵ *ib.* 4.1.22.

⁴⁶ HMC XII 84.1.14.

⁴⁷ *Cheng wu lun* 正誣論 (cf. above, p. 15 nr. 2), HMC II 8.2.22. The expressions in the last lines refer to well-known Taoist dietetic and respiratory practices such as "abstinence from cereals" 避穀, 絕穀, the accumulation of the "breath of life" 生氣, "circulation of the breath" 行氣 etc., the cultivation of which was believed to result in immortality in an ethereal and indestructible body. Cf. H. Maspero,

“Les procédés de ‘nourrir le principe vital’ dans la religion taoïste ancienne”, *J.As.* CCXXIX, 1937, p. 177-252 and 353-430; id. *Le Taoïsme*, p. 98 sqq.

⁴⁸ *Digha* II 40 p. 62; *Dialogues* I p. 78; *Ch'ang a-han* T I XVII (27) p. 109.2.7 (much shorter version).

⁴⁹ *Milindapañha* trsl. Rhys Davids p. 49, trsl. Finot p. 67; Chinese versions: T 1670 A I 597.1.4; T 1670 B I 707.1.24; trsl. P. Demiéville in *BEFEO* XXIV, 1924, p. 94-95.

⁵⁰ *Lun-yü* XI.11 (Legge p. 104): 不知生焉知死。

⁵¹ 迷而知反去道不遠. These words look like a quotation; I have been unable to trace them to their source. Close parallels of the saying occur e.g. in *San-kuo chih*, *Wei-chih* 6.26b (biography of Yüan Shu: 若迷而知反……) and *Nan-shih* 61.2b (biogr. of Ch'en Po-chih: 迷途知反……).

⁵² *HMC* XI 75.1.13.

⁵³ *Pai-hei lun* 白黑論 (cf. above, p. 15 no 5), *Sung-shu* 97.7b, trsl. Liebenthal p. 370.

⁵⁴ *HMC* XII 80.1.1. (= T 2108 I 444.2.3.).

⁵⁵ Buddha, pratyekabuddha, bodhisattva and śrāvaka.

⁵⁶ *Liu ch'in* 六親: father and mother, elder and younger brothers (and sisters), wife and children (gloss by Ying Shao 應劭 quoted by Yen Shih-ku 顏師古 *ad Han-shu* 48.6b). There are, however, several other lists of “six relatives”, cf. *Tz'u-hai* p. 158.3 s.v. *liu ch'in*.

⁵⁷ *HMC* V. 30.1.11 and 30.2.15, trsl. Hurvitz p. 19 and 22. The last words, *tsai-yu* 在宥, are the title of the eleventh chapter of *Chuang-tzu*, explained by Kuo Hsiang as “If (the ruler) is lenient and leaves (the people) to themselves, then they will (automatically) be orderly”; cf. also Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙 in *Chuang-tzu chi-chieh* III p. 62 for two other interpretations: (1) 在 = *ch'a* 察 “to investigate”, (2) 在 = *ts'un* 存 “to hold, to preserve”.

⁵⁸ *HMC* II 16.1.6. For the last sentence cf. *Lun-yü* II.3.

⁵⁹ *Pa nan* 八難 = *aṣṭāv akṣaṇāḥ*, the eight kinds of inopportune birth, i.e., birth in situations in which one cannot meet a Buddha or is unable by one's mental qualities to recognize and accept the doctrine. Standard list *Mvy* 2299-2308.

⁶⁰ *HMC* VI 36.2.10.

⁶¹ The “abolition of punishments” 刑錯[而不用] is one of the results of ideal government. The expression is a cliché, cf. Dubs and collaborators, *History*, vol. II, p. 36, n. 5.1.

⁶² *HMC* XI 69.3.9, partly reproduced in *KHMC* I 100.1.17 and *KSC* VII 367.3.23. Ho Shang-chih was a fervent Buddhist, see the preface to the *Sheng-man ching* 勝鬘經 (*śrīmālā [devisimhanāda]-sūtra*) by Fa-tz'u 法慈, dated 436, in *CSTCC* IX 67.2.16 sqq.

⁶³ *Lun-yü* III.5 (Legge p. 20): 夷狄之有君不如諸夏之亡也. Legge follows Chu Hsi and translates “The rude tribes of the East and North have their princes, and are not like the states of our great land which are without them”. Ho Yen (*chu-shu* ed. 3. 4a) takes 不如 in its normal sense: “The rude tribes with their rulers are still inferior to China with its anarchy”.

⁶⁴ *Mencius* IIIA/IV.12, Legge p. 129.

⁶⁵ 弱冠, lit. “a youth (at the age of) being capped”. The expression which denotes a young man about twenty years old, is derived from *Li-chi* Ia (*Ch'ü-li*) 7 (27) (*chu-shu* ed. 1.12a; Legge p. 65; Couvreur p. 8): 人生十年曰幼,學二十曰弱冠。

⁶⁶ *Mou-tzu*, section XIV, *HMC* I 3.3.10; trsl. Pelliot *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 303.

⁶⁷ On this expression see Pelliot's remark in *TP* 19 (1920) p. 350, note 90.

⁶⁸ *Mou-tzu* section VII, *HMC* I 2.2.26, trsl. Pelliot p. 295.

⁶⁹ *Li-chi* III (*Wang-chih*) 3.14, *chu-shu* ed. XII.26b; trsl. Couvreur p. 295: 中國戎夷五方之民皆有性也,不可推移。

⁷⁰ 性習之教, an allusion to Confucius' famous remark (*Lun-yü* XVII.2): “By nature, men are almost alike—it is by practice that they become widely (different) from each other” 性相近,習相遠也. According to Ho Ch'eng-t'ien, the author

of this passage, Confucius did not mean to say that *all* people, including the barbarians, originally are similar in nature; this holds only good for the Chinese, for it was the superiority of the Chinese national character which enabled him to expound such a broad-minded and humanitarian doctrine. It goes without saying that Ho Ch'eng-t'ien is violating the spirit of Confucianism. No doubt the barbarians are despicable, rude, violent and not to be imitated, but "when a superior man dwells among them, what rudeness would there be?" (*Lun-yü* IX, 13.2). Once drawn within the sphere of Chinese civilisation they become acceptable in spite of their foreign origin.

⁷¹ Ho Ch'eng-t'ien in his answer to Tsung Ping (cf. above, p. 15 no. 5), *HMC* III 19.3.27. The theory of the fundamental difference between the Chinese and other people, but free from any nationalistic bias, was used by Hsieh Ling-yün 謝靈運 (385-433) to defend Tao-cheng's doctrine of Sudden Enlightenment (*tun-wu* 頓悟) as being more suited to the Chinese temper and inborn abilities, *KHMC* XVIII 224.3.25.

⁷² *Liu-i* 六夷, lit. "the Six (kinds of) Eastern Barbarians". The oldest sources mention the "Four I" (*Mencius* IA 7.16, here 四, as often, "at the four sides, all around") and the "nine I" (*Lun-yü* IX.13, *Erh-ya* IX, *chu-shu* ed. VII.8b). Here *I* is no doubt used for "barbarian" in general.

⁷³ *HMC* XII 81.1.25.

⁷⁴ *KSC* IX 385.3.4 — *Chin-shu* 95.12b. For a discussion of the date of this memorial (based on *TCTC* 95 p. 1122b) see H. Maspero, "Communautés et moines Bouddhistes chinois aux IIe et IIIe siècles", *BEFEO* X, 1910, p. 223 note 1.

⁷⁵ *HMC* III 21.3.5.

⁷⁶ *Mou-tzu*, section XIV, *HMC* I 3.3.19; trsl. Pelliot p. 304. For Yu Yü (who actually betrayed his country to Ch'in) cf. *Han Fei-tzu* III.49 and *Shih-chi* 5.12a sqq. (Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.* II, p. 39-43).

⁷⁷ Chin Mi-ti was the son of the Hun chieftain of the Hsiu-ch'u 休屠; he became a court official and was greatly favoured by emperor Wu. In 88 BC he saved the emperor's life by striking down the courtier Ma Ho-lo 馬何羅 (whose surname was posthumously changed into Mang 莽) when the latter was about to enter the emperor's bedroom with a dagger. Chin Mi-ti was ennobled as a marquis in 87 BC and died shortly afterwards. See his biography in *Han-shu* 68.20b sqq.

⁷⁸ Tao-hsüan 道宣 in his *Lieh-tai wang ch'en chih-huo chieh* 列代王臣滯惑解 (664 AD), *KHMC* VI 127.1.3.

⁷⁹ Hui-yüan in his *Sha-men t'an-fu lun* (cf. above, p. 16 no. 8), *HMC* V 32.2.19.

⁸⁰ A translation which already figures in the "Sūtra in forty-two chapters", T 784, p. 723.3.26.

⁸¹ *Mou-tzu*, section I, *HMC* I 1.3.25; trsl. Pelliot p. 291.

⁸² *Mou-tzu*, section XIV, *HMC* I 3.3.21; trsl. Pelliot p. 304.

⁸³ Tao-hsüan, *op.cit.*, p. 126.3.18.

⁸⁴ Wang Mi in his answer to Huan Hsüan, *HMC* XII 81.3.15.

⁸⁵ 蓋內外名之耳 : read ...之名? The "inner teaching" 內教 is Buddhism; 外 refers to all secular doctrines.

⁸⁶ Sun Ch'o 孫綽, *Yü tao lun* 喻道論 (cf. above, p. 133), *HMC* III 17.1.7.

⁸⁷ "Opponent" in Hui-yüan's *Sha-men pu ching wang-che lun* (cf. above, p. 238) section IV, *HMC* V 31.1.2 (= T 2108 II 350.1.3), trsl. Hurvitz p. 25.

⁸⁸ As e.g. the "opponents" in *Mou-tzu* and *Shih po lun*, cf. above, p. 262.

⁸⁹ *Mou-tzu* section IV, *HMC* I 2.1.20, trsl. Pelliot p. 293.

⁹⁰ *ib.* section VIII, *HMC* I 2.3.9, trsl. Pelliot p. 296.

⁹¹ Tsung Ping, *Ming fo lun* (cf. above, p. 15 no. 3), *HMC* II 9.2.6.

⁹² *Mou-tzu* section V, *HMC* I 2.2.3, trsl. Pelliot p. 293 (where Pelliot mistranslates the opponent's last words 僕以為煩而不要矣 as "J'en éprouve de la répugnance et je n'en veux pas". The use of *yao* as "to want" is modern; the phrase must be interpreted as "I regard this as cumbersome and not (expressing) the essential").

⁹³ *Pai-hei lun*, *Sung-shu* 97.7b, trsl. Liebenthal p. 369.

⁹⁴ "Opponent" in Hui-yüan's *Sha-men pu ching wang-che lun* section IV, *HMC* V 30.3.27 (= T 2108 II 449.3.29), trsl. Hurvitz p. 25.

⁹⁵ *Pai-hei lun* (cf. above, p. 15 no. 5), *Sung-shu* 97.7b; allusion to *Chuang-tzu* XVII p. 100.

⁹⁶ Tsung Ping, *Ming fo lun* (cf. above, p. 15 no 3), *HMC* II 9.2.13; trsl. Liebenthal p. 379; cf. *Chuang-tzu* XXI (ch. 田子方 p. 129).

⁹⁷ 是身也, here obviously not "the body" (cf. Liebenthal trsl. p. 380).

⁹⁸ Ch'ih-hsien 赤縣 = *Ch'ih-hsien shen-chou* 赤縣神州, the name of the "Middle Country" according to the division of the world by Tsou Yen 騶衍 (fourth cent. BC), sometimes used as a name for China. Cf. *Shih-chi* 74.2a.

⁹⁹ *Pa chi* 八極, the eight mountains with the eight gates of the winds at the extreme confines of the world according to *Huai-nan-tzu* IV p. 58.

¹⁰⁰ These numbers are enigmatic. I think that Liebenthal is right in supposing (*op.cit.*, p. 380 note 190) that Tsung Ping misunderstood the term *san-ch'ien ta-ch'ien shih-chieh* 三千大千世界 = *trisāhasramahāsāhasro lokadhātuḥ*, usually errended by the horrible expression (invented by Abel Rémusat) "trichiliomegachiliocosmos". Tsung Ping seems to have interpreted this term as 3×1000 worlds, and to have multiplied this number by four, i.e., one group of 3,000 worlds in each of the four directions. Indian Buddhist cosmology is less modest in its assumptions. One thousand worlds, each consisting of four continents, one moon, one sun and several heavens and hells, constitute a "little chiliocosmos", *sāhasraś cūdiko lokadhātuḥ*. One thousand universes of this kind form one "dichiliocosmos", *dvisāhasro madhyamo lokadhātuḥ*, and one thousand universes of this type form one trichiliomegachiliocosmos, which consequently contains 1,000,000,000 worlds. Cf. *Abh. Kośa* IV p. 170. However, it must be noted that the expression "three thousand suns and moons and thirteen (sic!) thousand worlds" 三千日月萬三千天地 occurs already in the late Han *Hsiu-hsing pen-ch'i ching* 修行本起經 (Kyōto ed. XIV, 3 p. 226.A.1).

¹⁰¹ Allusion to the Buddhist expression *Heng-(ho)-sha shih-chieh* 恆[可]沙世界 = *Gaṅgānadīvalukopamā lokadhātavaḥ* "worlds as numerous as the sands of the Ganges". I take *yüeh* 閱 in the sense of *shu* 數 "to count", being parallel with *chi* "to record" in the next phrase. Liebenthal's translation (p. 381) is certainly wrong: the sentence consists of two independent phrases in parataxis, the first one referring to the immense number of worlds in this "metagalactic system", the second one referring to the equally tremendous number of cosmic periods that have elapsed. Liebenthal rightly remarks that this sentence (actually only the last phrase) seems to allude to the beginning of the *Pūrvayoga-parivarta* (ch. VII) of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*.

¹⁰² Hsien-yüan 軒轅 was according to *Shih-chi* 1.2a the personal name of the Yellow Emperor.

¹⁰³ The expressions which here and in the following phrases characterize the various classics are taken from *Li-chi* XXIII.1 (*Li-chieh*), Couvreur, vol. II, p. 353.

¹⁰⁴ *Chen-kuan* 貞觀, an enigmatic expression occurring in the *I-ching*, *Hsi-tz'u* II, *Chu-shu* ed. VIII.3a, Legge p. 380: 天地之道貞觀者也。日月之道貞明者也。天下之動貞夫一者也。 Legge translates, very freely: "By the same rule, heaven and earth, in their course, continually give forth (their lessons); the sun and moon continually emit their light; all the movements under the sky are constantly subject to this one and the same rule". A tentative more literal translation would be "The (natural) way of Heaven and Earth consists of making firm-and-correct their (view:) appearance (?); the way of sun and moon consists of making firm-and-correct their brightness; (all) movements in the world (become) firm-and-correct by unity (or 'unification')". This is far from clear. The main difficulty is that the exact meaning of *chen(g)* 貞, here translated as "firm-and-correct" (i.e., *chen-cheng* 貞正, the standard paraphrase given in all Chinese commentaries) and as "true" in the text on

p. 269, is not known. It occurs in the *t'uan-tz'u* on the first hexagram among other ancient divinatory technical terms, none of which is clear. At the present state of our knowledge of the *I-ching* (a subject which so far has meticulously been avoided by practically all serious scholars) it seems premature to offer a less vague translation than I have given in the text.

¹⁰⁵ An allusion to the story in *Chuang-tzu* XXV p. 170 about two microscopic kingdoms, each one situated on one horn of a snail, which are engaged in an endless war with each other—an interesting parody on the Warring States.

¹⁰⁶ In all ed. this passage runs as follows 蓋於蠻觸之域應未治之冤且寧之於一生之內耳, which is incomprehensible. Liebenthal translates (p. 381): ... "but that it is insufficient to solve the problems of one life", leaving 寧 and 耳 out. It makes no sense to take *ning* either as an interrogative particle or as a particle denoting preference ("rather... than"). I have interpreted it as a full word with its usual meaning of "to pacify, to tranquilize". If this is correct, *fa* 之 must be a mistake for *chih* 之 "them", i.e., the warlike Liliputians or "the people" in general. *Ch'ieh* 且 = *ku-ch'ieh* 姑且, "for the time being, provisionally".

¹⁰⁷ Tsung Ping, *Ming fo lun*, HMC II 9.2.29 sq. For the last words cf. *Chuang-tzu* II (齊物論) p. 13.

¹⁰⁸ 生而神靈弱而能言, *Shih-chi* I.7a (*Mém. Hist.* I p. 26); said of the Yellow Emperor (trad. 2697-2597 BC).

¹⁰⁹ 自言其名, *Shih-chi* I.7b (*Mém. Hist.* I p. 40); said of *Ti-ku* 帝嚳 (trad. 2435-2365 BC).

¹¹⁰ 澗淵疏通, cf. *Shih-chi* I.7a (*Mém. Hist.* I p. 37): 靜 (sic) 淵以有謀疏通而知事; said of Chuan-hsü 顓頊 (trad. 2513-2435 BC).

¹¹¹ 居軒轅之丘, cf. *Shih-chi* I.6a (*Mém. Hist.* I p. 34). The "hill of Hsien-yüan" is traditionally located North-West of Hsin-cheng hsien 新鄭縣 in Honan; cf. *Mém. Hist.* I p. 26, note 2.

¹¹² 崆峒 cf. *Shih-chi* I.4a (*Mém. Hist.* I p. 30). Fan (var. Huan) and Tai, cf. *Shih-chi* I.4a (*Mém. Hist.* I p. 29): 登丸 (var. Chi 几 and Fan 凡) 山及岱宗. K'ung-t'ung shan is traditionally identified with the mountain of the same name near Lin-ju hsien 臨汝縣 in Honan; Huan-shan is located in Lang-yeh 琅琊 (Shantung); the Tai-tung is the eastern summit of the T'ai-shan in Shantung. Here Tsung Ping probably refers to the story in *Lieh-tzu* V (湯問) p. 54.

¹¹³ Cf. *Shih-chi* I.7a (*Mém. Hist.* I p. 37-38): 北至于幽陵南至于交趾西至于流沙東至于蟠木; said of the travels of Chuan-hsü. In the same way the fabulous country of Hua-hsü 華胥, which Huang-ti visited in a dream acc. to *Lieh-tzu* II.13, is identified with India by Tao-hsüan 道宣 in *KHMC* I 98.3.1 and VI 127.1.13, referring to Wang Shao 王邵 (second half sixth cent.) for this explanation.

¹¹⁴ 至道之精窈窈冥冥, *Chuang-tzu* XI.65.

¹¹⁵ The *śūramgasamādhi* is described as being identical with the Buddha-nature, which may have been the reason why Tsung Ping takes "the essence of the highest Way" to refer to this *samādhi*.

¹¹⁶ 得吾道者上為皇下為王, *Chuang-tzu* XI.66.

¹¹⁷ 飛行皇帝, an archaic rendering of *cakravartirāja*, which in the next line is rendered, as usual, by *chuan lun sheng-wang* 轉輪聖王. This whole passage is strongly reminiscent of *Hsiu-hsing pen-ch'i ching* 修行本起經 (T 184, translated at the end of the second century by Chu Ta-li 竺大力 and K'ang Meng-hsiang 康孟詳), Kyōto ed. XIV.3 p. 225B1: 從上來下為轉輪聖王, 飛行皇帝 which phrase we find repeated in Chih Ch'ien's translation of the *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching* 太子瑞應本起經 (T 185, trsl. 222-229), Kyōto ed. XIV.3.

¹¹⁸ 失吾道者上見光下為土, *Chuang-tzu* XI.66.

¹¹⁹ 感大隗之風稱天師而退, cf. *Chuang-tzu* XXIV.157. Only the last half of the sentence is a literal quotation. Acc. to *Chuang-tzu*, Ta-kuei 大隗 was the name of a mythical being living on Mt. Chü-tz'u 具茨, whom Huang-ti (trad. 2694-

2597 BC) intended to visit. When he asked the way from a boy who was tending horses, the boy's answer made such an impression on him that he "bowed twice, knocked his head, called him the Heavenly Master and retired", giving up his journey to Ta-kuei. The term *t'ien-shih* 天師 is obviously interpreted by Tsung Ping as an elliptical form of *t'ien-jen-shih* 天人師 "teacher of gods and men", one of the ten epithets of the Buddha (see next note).

¹²⁰ 十號: the ten stereotyped epithets of a Buddha, a standard series of honorific terms which frequently occurs in Buddhist scriptures (e.g. *Saddharmapundarika*, *passim*; cf. E. Lamotte, *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse*, p. 115 sqq.): (1) the *tathāgata* 如來 (2) *arhat* 應供 (3) the perfectly enlightened, *samyaksambuddha* 正遍知 (4) endowed with wisdom and practice, *vidyācaraṇasampanna* 明行足 (5) well-gone, *sugata* 善逝 (6) knower of the world, *lokavid* 世間解 (7) charioteer (or chief) of men who must be tamed, *puruṣadamyasārathi* 調御師 (9) master of gods and men, *śāstā devamanuṣyānām* 天人師 (10) Buddha the Lord, *Buddho bhagavat* 佛世尊. The Chinese equivalents listed here are those used by Kumārajīva in the first decades of the fifth century. Cf. also *Hōbōgirin* p. 192 (s.v. *Butsu*).

¹²¹ Trad. 2852-2205 BC.

¹²² HMC II 12.2.4. sqq.

¹²³ *Fen-tien* 墳典, i.e., the "three *fen* and five *tien*" 三墳五典, the (hypothetical) historical records of the Three Sovereigns and the Five Emperors.

¹²⁴ HMC II 9.3.20 sqq., trsl. Liebenthal p. 382.

¹²⁵ 史佚, cf. *Shih-chi* 4.10a (*Mém. Hist.* I p. 328); according to tradition he should have been active as a historiographer under king Ch'eng at the beginning of the Chou dynasty (trad. ca. 1100 BC).

¹²⁶ 卜商, a disciple of Confucius, better known under his *tzu* Tzu-hsia 子夏, praised in *Lun-yü* XI.2 (cf. XIX. 4, 5, 6, 13) for his literary skill.

¹²⁷ read 荷 in stead of 皆.

¹²⁸ HMC III 20.3.16 sqq.

¹²⁹ E.g. KHMC IV 115.1.13 and *ib.* XI 166.1.2.

¹³⁰ *Sui-shu* 35.18b.

¹³¹ 東海之內, 北海之隅, 有國曰朝 鮮, 天毒, 其人水居, 俚人愛人. (*Shan hai ching chien-su* 山海經笺疏, ed. *Ssu-pu pei-yao* ch. 18.1a). The text reproduced here (after the edition of 1809) reads 愛之, but the annotator Hao I-hsing 郝懿行 (1757-1825) rightly adopts in his subcommentary the reading 愛人 which is corroborated by all early quotations.

¹³² In fact, the character *tu* 毒 occurs also in *Shen-tu* 身毒, the transcription of the name of N.W. India in *Shih-chi* 123.5b, and Yen shih-ku (581-645) in his commentary to *Han-shu* 96A.10a identifies this *Shen-tu* with *T'ien-tu* 天篤 = *T'ien-chu* 天竺. In his *so-yin* commentary to *Shih-chi* 123.5b, Ssu-ma Chen (eight century) says that *Shen-tu* must be pronounced as *Ch'ien-tu* 乾篤. This is certainly wrong. If we compare the archaic and ancient pronunciation of the words in question:

t'ien-chu 天竺, Arch. *t'ien.tjōk, Anch. *t'ien.tjūk

t'ien-tu 天篤, Arch. *t'ien-tōk, Anch. *t'ien-tuok

身毒 read *shen-tu*, Arch. *šjēn.d'ōk, Anch. *šjēn.d'uok

id. read *ch'ien-tu*, Arch. *kān.tōk, Anch. *kān.tuok

it is obvious that 身 must have its normal pronunciation.

¹³³ The words of Kuo P'u are actually as follows:

"*T'ien-tu* is the same as *T'ien-chu* 天竺. (The inhabitants) attach great value to virtuous conduct (道德). They have a script (of their own) and gold and silver currency. Buddhism has come from this country . . ." (*Shan hai ching chien-su*, *loc.cit.*).

¹³⁴ HMC II 12.2.27.

¹³⁵ KHMC I 98.3.5.

¹³⁶ *Sui-hua chi li* ch. 3, in *Shuo-fu* (ed. of 1647) ch. 69.

¹³⁷ 夏四月辛卯夜恆星不見夜中星隕如雨. Trsl. Legge p. 79-80, Couvreur, vol. I, p. 140.

¹³⁸ 夏恆星不見夜明也.

¹³⁹ Cf. P. Pelliot in *TP XIX*, 1920, p. 337 note 37.

¹⁴⁰ E.g., *Hsiu-hsing pen-ch'i ching* I, Kyōto ed. p. 226.B.1, and *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching* I, Kyōto ed. p. 234.B.1.

¹⁴¹ *Wei-shu* 114.2a, trsl. Ware p. 117; trsl. Hurvitz p. 40.

¹⁴² *KHMC* VIII 142.1.14.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*: 莊王別傳曰.王遂即易筮之云.西域銅色人出世.所以夜明.非中夏之災也. The "copper-coloured" man is of course an allusion to the "golden colour" (*suvarnavarna* 金色相), one of the thirty-two marks (*lakṣaṇa*) of the body of a Buddha. Cf. also Wang Chin 王巾 (died 505 AD) in his "Inscription on the Dhūta monastery" in *Wen-hsüan* 59 (p. 1273): 周魯二莊親昭夜景之鑿, and Li Shan's commentary to this passage.

¹⁴⁴ *Hsü KSC* XXIII 624.3.26 = *KHMC* I 100.3.10.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. above, p. 22 and *ib.* note 23.

¹⁴⁶ For this meeting at the T'u-shan cf. the Appendix to this chapter, p. 286.

¹⁴⁷ *Chou-shu i-chi*, quoted in Fa-lin 法琳, *P'o hsieh lun* 破邪論 (written 622, T 2109) p. 478.2.6 = *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XII (T 2122) 378.2 and ch. C p. 1028.1 and 2.

¹⁴⁸ The text of this story is given in T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 3-4. It is found in the *Tao-hsüan lü-shih kan-t'ung-lu*, 道宣律師感通錄, also named *Kan-t'ung-chuan* 感通傳, a collection of highly apocryphal stories ascribed to the famous vinaya-master Tao-hsüan (596-667), T 2107 p. 436.2.17 sqq. The story runs as follows: Duke Mu of Ch'in 秦穆公 (659-621 BC) has somehow obtained an image of the Buddha and allows it to be defiled by his horse, after which he becomes ill. His counsellor Yu Yü 由余 (cf. above, note 76) tells him how Buddhism had come to China under the Chou king Mu. Anciently King Mu was visited by magicians 化人 who actually were "Buddhist genii" 佛神. The king builds for them a high tower 高臺 as a place of worship, becomes a devout Buddhist and performs many good works. These magicians were no others than Mañjuśri and Maudgalyāyana who had gone to the East to convert him. This story is no doubt based upon the well-known passage in *Lieh-tzu* about the magician from the West visiting king Mu (see below, note 155). The *Kan-t'ung-chuan* is not mentioned in any Chinese catalogue and seems to have disappeared from China at a very early date. However, it is certainly as old as the beginning of the ninth century as we find it mentioned in the various lists of Buddhist writings which were taken to Japan by Ennin (794-864): the *Nihonkoku jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本國承和五年八唐來法目錄 of 839, (T 2165 p. 1075.2.27), the *Jigaku-daishi zaitō sōshinroku* 慈覺大師在唐送進錄 of 840 (T 2166 p. 1077.2.28) and the *Nittō shin gu shōgyō mokuroku* 八唐新來聖教目錄 of 847 (T 2167 p. 1086.3.18).

¹⁴⁹ *Lieh-tzu* IV.41.

¹⁵⁰ *KHMC* I 98.2.16.

¹⁵¹ T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 4-5.

¹⁵² See for the date of the discovery and the editing Kanda Kiichirō 神田喜一郎, "Kyō-chō-sho shutsudo shimatsukō" 汲冢書出土始末考 in *Shinagaku-setsurin* 支那學說林 p. 10.32 (article dated 1934). For a review of studies on and translations of the *Mu t'ien-tzu chuan* see Cheng Te-k'un in *JNCBRAS* LXIV, 1933, p. 124.

¹⁵³ *Lieh-tzu* III.33.

¹⁵⁴ *Lieh-tzu* III.31.

¹⁵⁵ This is the story which, as we have seen above (note 148), has further developed into a real Buddhist legend. The story in *Lieh-tzu* runs in outline as follows. King Mu is visited by a magician from the extreme West; he is lavishly treated by the Chinese monarch, who tries to please him by building a splendid palace for him. The magician, in order to show the king the imperfection of this earthly splendour, transports him

to a fairy palace in the "Central Heaven" 中天, where the king seems to stay for tens of years amidst celestial pleasures. Then the magician takes him again to a region of darkness and silence, where neither sun and moon nor seas and rivers are to be seen. King Mu becomes afraid and confused, and asks his mysterious companion to make him return to earth. At that very moment he is back in his palace: "He was sitting on the same place as before (he started his journey); the same servants waited upon him. When looking before him he noticed that the wine (in his cup) had not yet become clear, and his meat was still moist. When the king asked his servants whence he had come, they told him: 'Your Majesty was just silently (sitting) here'." Afterwards the magician explains the situation to the bewildered king: "I have made a spiritual journey 神遊 with Your Majesty; why then should the body move?"

The very nature of the story reveals its non-Chinese origin: the phenomenon of time and its relativity has never attracted the attention of Chinese thinkers. However, I have been unable to find a comparable theme in Buddhist literature, although the concept of the "spiritual journey" by which enormous distances are covered without moving the body has some resemblance with *Milindapañha* III.33 (trsl. Rhys Davids vol. I p. 126-127, Finot p. 136). The motif does occur in later Indian literature, e.g., in the story of the unsuccessful *apprenti sorcier* Candrasvāmin in Kṣemendra's *Brhatkathā* (story XVIII, trsl. by U. Uhle in *Vetala-Pantschavinsati, die fünfundzwanzig Erzählungen eines Dämons*, München 1924, p. 175 sqq.) and in Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* ch. 92 (trsl. Tawney-Penzer vol. VII p. 71 sqq.). In his Appendix to vol. VII of his edition of Tawney's translation of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, N. M. Penzer refers to various analogous stories in Arabian literature, notably a fragment from the tales of the "Forty Vazirs" and the tale of Warlock and the young cook of Baghdad (for which see Penzer, *op.cit.*, p. 224 note 3) from the Arabian Nights. The most surprising parallel to the story in *Lieh-tzu* is furnished by the legend(s) of the *mi'rāj*, the miraculous ascension of the prophet, according to which Muhammad was taken away from his bed, "and God Most High showed him the Seven Heavens, the Eight Paradises and the Seven Hells, and spake with him ninety thousand words, and when he returned to his place he found his bed still warm, and the water had not wholly run out of an ewer which had been upset beside him, so he straightway raised the ewer from the ground". Both Gibb and Penzer believe that the origin of this motif must be sought in the hallucinations provoked by "some intoxicating preparation like *hashish*". The occurrence of the same theme in a Chinese work of the late third century makes this explanation very doubtful, unless we must assume that the use of such drugs was widely spread in India or the Near East as early as that date. See also S. Thompson, *Motiv-index of Folk-literature*, second ed., Copenhagen 1955, vol. II no. D 2012.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Wang Shu-min 王叔岷, *Lieh-tzu pu-cheng* 列子補正 (Peking 1947) vol. I, p. 1a.

¹⁵⁷ E.g. *Huai-nan tzu* VII.106 = *Lieh-tzu* II.22; *Huai-nan tzu* X .164 = *Lieh-tzu* VIII.89; *Huai-nan tzu* XX.348 = *Lieh-tzu* VIII.90. The famous chapter *Yang Chu* 楊朱, in which the "hedonistic" theories of that philosopher are developed, is extensively quoted in *Han-shu* XX 23.1.a (= *Lieh-tzu* 7.6a, *SPTK* ed.), cf. Hulswé, *Han Law* p. 351 note 5. In spite of this, Feng Yu-lan, who like Chi Hsien-lin and T'ang Yung-t'ung regards the whole text of the present *Lieh-tzu* as a post-Han forgery, devotes ten pages in his *History of Chinese Philosophy* (trsl. Derk Bodde, vol. II p. 195-205) to a detailed discussion of the Yang Chu chapter as a splendid example of the pessimism and hedonism in the third century AD!

¹⁵⁸ *Shih-i chi*, ed. *Pi-shu erh-shih-pa chung* 秘書十八種 ch. 4 p. 2b.

¹⁵⁹ *Chin-shu* 95.17a.

¹⁶⁰ *KSC* V (biogr. of Tao-an) 353.3.12 sqq.

¹⁶¹ Cf. below, p. 313.

¹⁰² The following works are mentioned by Seng-yu in *CSTCC* at the beginning of the sixth century:

- (1) *A-yü wang yü fo-so sheng ta ching-hsin ching* 阿育王於佛所生大敬信經, 1 ch., translator unknown, *CSTCC* IV 25.2.3.
- (2) *A-yü wang huo kuo-pao ching* 阿育王獲果報經, 1 ch., translator unknown, *ib.* In the *Ta-Chou k'an-ting chung-ching mu-lu* of 695 AD (T 2153 IX 428.1.14 and 19) the translation of these two works is attributed to Dharmarakṣa; at that date the scriptures themselves had already been lost.
- (3) *A-yü wang kung-yang tao-ch'ang shu ching* 阿育王供養道場樹經, 1 ch., mentioned in *CSTCC* 25.2.4 as an anonymous translation, but in *Ta-T'ang NTL* (T 2149) III 245.2.27 ascribed to (?) Dharmaratna (Chu T'an-wu-lan 竺曇無蘭, late fourth century). It had already been lost at the time of the compilation of T 2153 (695 AD).
- (4) *A-yü wang tso hsiao-erh shih ching* 阿育王作小兒時經 1 ch., mentioned in *CSTCC* IV 33.3.27 as an anonymous translation among the lost sūtras.
- (5) *Hsiao A-yü wang ching* 小阿育王經, 1 ch., *ib.*, *id.*
- (6) *A-yü wang she-shih huan-shu ch'ü-yüan chi* 阿育王捨施還贖取緣紀, 1 ch., mentioned as an anonymous translation in *CSTCC* IV 25.2.5, but in T 2153 IX 428.1.28 ascribed to Dharmarakṣa, referring to the catalogue of Tao-an. The text had already disappeared before the time of the compilation of T 2153 (695 AD).
- (8) (*A-yü wang*) *t'ai-tzu* (var. *hsi*) (*fa-i*) *huai mu yin-yüan ching* [阿育王] 太子 (var. 息) [法益] 壞目因緣經, 1 ch., translated by Chu Fo-nien 竺佛念 and Dharmanandin at Ch'angan in 391 AD, with a preface by Chu Fo-nien, cf. *CSTCC* II 10.3.4 and VII 51.2.14. *Ta-T'ang NTL* (T 2149) III 252.1.16 and *K'ai-yüan SCL* (T 2154) IV 511.2.18 and 512.1.15 wrongly speak of two translations, one by Dharmanandin and one by Chu Fo-nien. This work still exists: T 2045, a metrical translation of a Sanskrit original containing the story of Kunāla (cf. *Divyāvadāna* p. 405 sqq.) which according to Chu Fo-nien's preface consisted of 343 śloka.
- (9) (*A-yü wang chuan*, cf. next note.
- (10) In *Ta-T'ang NTL* (T 2149) L 224.1.1 it is said that there was already at the end of the second century an *A-yü wang t'ai-tzu huai mu yin-yüan ching* 阿育王太子壞目因緣經 (cf. above, sub 8) translated by Lokakṣema; the catalogue refers to *CSTCC*, in which this translation is not mentioned.

¹⁰³ An Fa-ch'in does not figure either in the *Kao-seng chuan* or in the biographical chapters of the *CSTCC*. In *CSTCC* V 38.3.5 Seng-yu mentions a *Ta A-yü wang ching* 大阿育王經 which by Tao-an had been classed among the "suspected" (疑) scriptures; this work consisted of only one *chüan*. The present *A-yü wang chüan* occurs under the name of An Fa-ch'in in *Ta-T'ang NTL* (T 2149) II 236.1.12 with the title *Ta A-yü wang ching*, in five *chüan*; for the attribution to An Fa-ch'in this catalogue refers to the *Chin-shih tsa-lu* 晉世雜錄 by Chu Tao-tsu 竺道祖 which dates from the beginning of the fifth century (cf. P. Pelliot in *TP* XXII, 1923, p. 102). The *A-yü wang chuan* (? *Aśokarājāvadāna*) has been translated in its entirety by J. Przyluski, *La Légende de l'Empereur Açoka*, Paris 1923, p. 225 sqq. A second Chinese translation, made in 512 AD by Seng-chia-p'o-lo 僧伽婆羅 (? *Sanghavara*), has also been preserved: *A-yü wang ching* 阿育王經, 10 ch., T 2043.

¹⁰⁴ See e.g., *A-yü wang chuan* (T 2042) I 102.1.14 sqq., trsl. Przyluski p. 242; *A-yü wang ching* (T 2043) I 153.1.12 sqq.; *A-yü wang hsi huai mu yin-yüan ching* (T 2045) 179.2.14; *Shan-chien lü p'i-p'o-sha* 善見律毘婆沙 (T 1462, *Samantapāsādikā*, trsl. by Saṅghabhadra 488/489 AD) I p. 681.2.5 sqq.

¹⁰⁵ *Shui-ching chu* 23.20b.

¹⁰⁶ *Wei-shu* 114 (*Shih-Lao chih*) 2b (trsl. Ware p. 119; trsl. Hurvitz p. 42) = *KHMC* II 101.3.6.

¹⁶⁷ KSC I 325.2.12 = CSTCC XIII 96.2.12.

¹⁶⁸ *Ming-hsiang chi*, quoted in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XIII 383.2; KSC I 326.1.1; *KHMC* XV 202.1.27. According to the (very unreliable) *Ming-hsiang chi* quoted in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XIII 386.2, this same golden statue should have been rediscovered in 405 near the palace gate at Chienk'ang by no one else than Wang Mi (for whom see above, p. 213).

¹⁶⁹ Correspondence between Li Miao 李淼 and the monks Fa-ming 法明 and Tao-kao 道高, *HMC* XI 71.3.18.

¹⁷⁰ *KSC* IX 385.2.22.

¹⁷¹ *HMC* XI 72.1.10 (cf. note 169) and Tsung Ping's *Ming-fo lun*, *HMC* II 12.3.11.

¹⁷² *KHMC* XV 202.1.9.

¹⁷³ *KSC* XIII 409.3.18, cf. *KHMC* XV 202.2.1 and *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XII 379.3 and 383.2 quoting *Ming-hsiang chi*.

¹⁷⁴ This mountain seems not to be mentioned elsewhere.

¹⁷⁵ *KSC* X 388.3.19, based on *Ming-hsiang chi* (cf. *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XXVIII 492.1).

¹⁷⁶ *KSC* XIII 409.2.17 sqq. The early life of Liu Sa-ho had already developed into a legend before the beginning of the fifth century. The story of his sinful life, his descent into Hell, his salvation by Kuan-yin, his conversion and resurrection were described in great detail in the *Ming-hsiang chi* 冥祥記 by Wang Yen 王琰 (written some time after 479, cf. Arthur F. Wright, "Hui-chiao's *Lives of Eminent Monks*" p. 418); long quotations of this part of the *Ming-hsiang chi* are to be found in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XXXI 516.3 and LXXXVI 919.2, cf. also Lu Hsün 魯迅, *Ku hsiao-shuo kou-ch'en* 古小說鈞沉 (in *Lu Hsün ch'üan-chi*, vol. VIII) p. 596-598. At the beginning of Hui-ta's biography in the *KSC* this legend is referred to in a few words, but the rest of the account of his life does not seem to contain much legendary material. Cf. also Ôtani Seishin 大谷騷真 in *Tôyôgakuhô* XI, 1921, p. 69-101, esp. p. 95 sqq.

¹⁷⁷ *KSC* XIII 409.2.24.

¹⁷⁸ *KHMC* XV 203.3.11.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. *Ming-hsiang chi* quoted in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XIII 383.3 and 385.1.

¹⁸⁰ *KSC* XIII 410.1.1.

¹⁸¹ *KHMC* XV 202.2.4.

¹⁸² *KSC* V 355.3.28.

¹⁸³ *KSC* VI 358.3.3; cf. above, p. 243 (biography of Hui-yüan).

¹⁸⁴ *KHMC* XV 203.1.22.

¹⁸⁵ *HMC* XI 72.1.13.

¹⁸⁶ *KHMC* XV 202.1.12.

¹⁸⁷ *Fa-yüan chu-lin* XXXVIII 584.3-585.1.

¹⁸⁸ T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 6.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. on the early use and types of such portents Ch'en P'an 陳槃, "On the *fu-ying* 符應 as used during the Ch'in and Han dynasties", *CYYY* XVI (1947), 1-67.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. the "Account of the (miraculous) responses of the relics" 舍利感應記 by Wang Shao 王劭 (*KHMC* XVII 223.2.25 sqq.) and the impressive list of miracles reported to the court from forty-four shrines which by imperial order had been established all over the empire (*ib.* 216.3.7 sqq.). Both documents date from 602 AD. At this period there seems to have been a sudden profusion of "relics" found at the most improbable places: in the course of the year 601 both the emperor and the empress repeatedly discovered them in their food when they were eating! (*ib.* 216.2.28). Among the objects which are reported to have been found by excavation or to have miraculously manifested themselves in or near these shrines we find not only Buddhist objects such as relics, stone or bronze statues and stone cases with relics or images, but also traditional Chinese portents like inscribed stones, luminous emanations, sweet dew, auspicious animals (e.g., white cranes, tortoises, pheasants) etc.

¹⁹¹ Cf. *Hsiao-ching* XI (*chu-shu* ed. 6.3a; trsl. Legge p. 481): "Three thousand (crimes) are covered by the Five Punishments, but no sin is greater than lack of

filial piety” 五刑之屬三千，而罪莫大於不孝。 Similarly, in *Chou-li* 10.26a the “punishment for lack of filial piety” 不孝之刑 ranks first among the “Eight Punishments” 八刑。

¹⁹² Cf. Mencius IVA/XXVI.1 (trsl. Legge p. 189). The absence of posterity means the termination of the sacrificial rites; it consequently is an offense against the ancestral lineage as a whole.

¹⁹³ Cf. *Hsiao-ching* I (trsl. Legge p. 466), *chu-shu* ed. I.3a.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. above, p. 16 *sub* 8, and e.g., *Mou-tzu* XI (*HMC* I 3.1.23), trsl. Pelliot p. 300. To be dressed according to the norm 法服 is one of the elements of the Confucian code of conduct, cf. *Hsiao-ching* ch. IV (*chu-shu* ed. II.3a), trsl. Legge p. 469.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. the documents in *HMC* XII 77.2-79.2.

¹⁹⁶ *KSC* V 352.3.29. The use of *Shih* as a religious surname was not quite without precedent: already in the first half of the fourth century we hear of the monk Shih Tao-pao 釋道寶 who was active in Chien'ang (*KSC* IV 350.3.12, cf. above, p. 97).

¹⁹⁷ *Tseng-i a-han* XXI, T 125 658.3.10: “Just as the four rivers which come from the lake Anavatapta lose their names when they stream forth into the sea and are only called “the sea”, so the members of the four castes who go out of their families and join the order lose their own family names and are only called ‘monks, sons of Śākya’.” In this famous passage the last words, *sha-men shih-chia-tzu* 沙門釋迦子, are a misleading translation of *śramaṇa-Śākyaputriyāḥ* which actually does not mean “monks, sons of Śākya” but “monks belonging to the son from the Śākya-(clan)”, i.e., followers of the Buddha. Here it was apparently taken as an equivalent of the equally common epithet *buddhaputra* 佛子 or *jinaputra*, cf. *Hōbōgirin* p. 171, s.v. *Busshi*.

¹⁹⁸ *KSC* VII 366.2; he was named after his master Chu Fa-t'ai 竺法汰 (320-387), who was also a Chinese monk. Fa-t'ai is stated to have studied together with Tao-an (*KSC* V 354.2.29) who seems also to have had *Chu* as his religious surname before he adopted *Shih* (*ib.* 254.1.16).

¹⁹⁹ Hulsewé, *Remnants* p. 335.

²⁰⁰ *Op.cit.*, p. 128-130.

²⁰¹ *Loc.cit.*

²⁰² The notion of religious suicide of Buddhist monks does occur in Indian Buddhism, but in a different fashion. Here it probably never was more than a rhetorical scholastic problem: what are the karmic consequences (if there are any) in the case of someone committing suicide at the very moment of reaching the state of Arhat? The most famous example is the suicide of Godhika (*Samyutta* I. 120, trsl. Rhys Davids I. 149-153; different version in *Samyuktāgama*, T 99 XXXIX.109; *Abh. Kośa* VI.262) who after having six times fallen away from the “temporary state of emancipation” (*sāmayikī vimukti*), finally made an end of his life on attaining it the seventh time. The story of the monk who cut his throat to escape from the “three robbers” (lust, hate and ignorance) as narrated in Fa-hsien's *Fo-kuo chi* (T 2085 p. 863.1.17; trsl. Beal p. LXI; Giles p. 52) may be based on the story of Godhika's suicide; Fa-hsien visited the spot at which this was supposed to have taken place, some three *li* east of the old city of Rājagṛha. In all these cases suicide is used as a device to escape from rebirth. In Chinese Buddhism, inspired by Mahāyāna devotional concepts, it is essentially a self-immolation, a sacrifice performed in homage of the Buddha. Cf. also Et. Lamotte, *Traité* vol. II p. 740-742 for the concept of suicide in Indian Buddhism.

²⁰³ *Bhaisajjarāja-pūrvayoga-parivarta* 藥王菩薩本事品, ed. Dutt p. 271 sqq.; trsl. Burnouf p. 242; T 262 VI (23) 53.1 = T 263 IX (21) 125.1 = T 264 VI (22) 187.3.

²⁰⁴ I.e., in or shortly after 396 AD, cf. *TCTC* 108.1280b.

²⁰⁵ *KSC* XII 404.3.11 sqq.

²⁰⁶ *ib.* 404.3.22.

²⁰⁷ *ib.* 405.1.11.

²⁰⁸ *ib.* 405.1.25.

²⁰⁹ *ib.* 405.3.5.

²¹⁰ *ib.* 405.2.3. The practice of religious suicide has persisted till modern times, cf. J. McGowan, "Self-immolation by fire in China" in *Chinese Recorder*, October-November 1888 (in which year the author himself witnessed some cases) and J. J. Matignon, "L'auto-crémation des prêtres bouddhistes", in *Superstition, crime et misère en Chine*" (Lyon 1899), p. 161-176.

²¹¹ 色養; an allusion to *Lun-yü* II.8.

²¹² *HMC* III 17.1.19; the words of the imaginary opponent in Sun Ch'o's *Yü tao lun* (cf. above, p. 133).

²¹³ *CSTCC* VI 46.2.27.

²¹⁴ *HMC* V 30.1.28, trsl. Hurvitz p. 21.

²¹⁵ E.g., *Mahāvagga*, ed. Oldenberg I 54 (p. 83), trsl. I. B. Horner (*SBB* XIV, *Book of the Discipline*) IV p. 104; cf. Oldenberg, *Buddha* p. 394; Renou-Filiozat, *Inde classique* p. 558, § 2369.

²¹⁶ *Shih-erh-pu ching* 十二部經 is the Chinese equivalent of the "twelve section of the Buddha-word" (*dvādaśāṅgabuddhavacana*) or "the twelve proclamations of the doctrine" (*dvādaśadharmapracana*), in Sanskrit Buddhist scholastic literature denoting the traditional list of twelve categories of sacred literature, part of which corresponds to the nine *aṅgas* of the Pāli scriptures. Neither of these lists corresponds to the real division of the canon. Sanskrit terms in *Mvy* 1266-78; Chinese equivalents cf. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten* p. 2337.3. Sun Ch'o's assertion that the scriptures of four of these classes are exclusively devoted to the propagation of filial piety is very surprising; we cannot even guess which classes he may have had in mind. The words 其四部, which I have translated as "four of which (classes)", could also be interpreted as "the fourth out of these (twelve classes)", taking 四 as elliptical for 第四. But also in that case it would be impossible to make out what particular class was meant: in the various lists the order of the twelve *genres* is not the same. Moreover, the Sanskrit names (*sūtra*, *geya*, *vyākaraṇa* etc.) are most often transcribed in Chinese characters but not translated; Sun Ch'o most probably did not know them at all, and either repeated in his treatise this argument from hearsay, or devised it himself in order to dumbfound his antagonists.

²¹⁷ *HMC* III 17.1.27 sqq.

²¹⁸ *Mou-tzu*, section XV, *HMC* I 4.1.12; trsl. Pelliot p. 305.

²¹⁹ The latter way of argumentation is also found in the *Shih-Lao chih* (*Wei-shu* 114.1b; trsl. Ware p. 113; trsl. Hurvitz p. 33, and Tsukamoto's remarks *ib.*), where the five commandments of Buddhism are identified with the five social virtues (仁義禮智信) of Confucianism.

APPENDIX CHAPTER FIVE

¹ The spurious *Chu-shu chi-nien* has been translated by J. Legge in *Chinese Classics* III, *The Shoo king*, prolegomena ch. IV p. 105-183; before Legge a French translation had already been made by Ed. Biot in *J.As.*, 1841, p. 537-578 and 1842, p. 381-431.

² In *Hai-ning Wang Chung-ch'üeh-kung i-shu* 海寧王忠愍公遺書, third series, 1928; recently supplemented and re-edited by Fan Hsiang-yung 范祥雍, *Ku-pen chu-shu chi-nien chi-chiao ting-pu* 訂補, Peking 1957.

³ Although the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* (completed 983) itself is a comparatively late compilation, this quotation is probably reproduced from a much older source: for the pre-T'ang period the compilers of the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* have almost integrally taken over the contents of some earlier encyclopedias, notably the *Hua-lin pien-lüeh* 華林遍略 which was compiled between 516 and 524; cf. Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po Hu T'ung* vol. I (Leiden 1949) p. 60-61.

⁴ Wang Kuo-wei, *op.cit.*, p. 7a.

⁵ The present (spurious) text of the *Chu-shu chi-nien* contains the following phrase, which is no doubt an expanded version of the original entry:

"In the nineteenth year, in spring, a comet appeared in the constellation Tzu-wei."

十九年春有孛于紫微

(Wang Kuo-wei, *Chin-pen Chu-shu chi-nien shu-cheng* 今本竹書紀年疏證, *Posthumous works*, third series, ch. 2 p. 6a; trsl. Legge p. 149). Since neither the *Chou-shu i-chi*, based upon the original *Chu-shu chi-nien*, nor the quotation from the latter work in the *TPYL* mention the "nineteenth year" as the date of the ominous event, it is certain that these words did not figure in the original text.

⁶ Wang Kuo-wei, *Chin-pen Chu-shu chi-nien shu-cheng* ch. 2 p. 7b; trsl. Legge p. 151.

⁷ *Tso-chuan*, Chao-kung 4, trsl. Legge p. 597; trsl. Couvreur vol. III p. 80.

⁸ For completeness' sake we must mention a third way of dating the Buddha's *Nirvāna* which is found in early Chinese sources. In the account of his stay at Ceylon (412 AD), Fa-hsien reports a (Singhalese?) tradition, according to which at that date 1497 years had elapsed since the Buddha's entry into *Nirvāna* (T 2085 p. 865.1.27; trsl. Beal p. lxxv; Giles p. 71). The origin of this tradition is not clear; it never became popular in China, and we find it severely criticized as lacking scriptural evidence in *Fa-yüan chu-lin* C (T 2122) p. 1028.3.

CHAPTER SIX

¹ Cf. H. G. Creel, "What is Taoism?", *HJAS* 76 (1956), p. 137-152.

² "Neo-Taoism" is in this sense used by Fung Yu-lan, cf. his *Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, New York 1948, p. 211: "By the revival of Taoism, I here mean that of Taoist philosophy. This revived Taoist philosophy I will call Neo-Taoism". The term *Neo-taoisme* had previously been used by Pelliot to denote exactly the opposite, the Taoist religion of the Yellow Turbans (cf. *TP* XIX, 1920, p. 414 note 385). Cf. also our remarks above, p. 45 and p. 87.

³ Cf. H. Maspero, *Taoïsme*, p. 116 sqq.

⁴ An early commentary on the *Tao te ching* with the cryptic title of *Hsiang-erh chu* 想爾注 has been discovered among the Tun-huang manuscripts at the British Museum. This text (S 6825) is no doubt the most extensive and reliable source on early Taoist doctrine in existence. An annotated edition of the *Hsiang-erh chu* has recently been published by Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤 under the title *Tun-huang liu-ch'ao hsieh-pen Chang t'ien-shih Tao-ling chu Lao-tzu Hsiang-erh chu chiao-chien* 敦煌六朝寫本張天師道陵著老子想爾注校筴 (Hong Kong, 1956), cf. also Ch'en Shih-hsiang 陳世驥, "'Hsiang-erh' Lao-tzu tao-ching Tun-huang ts'an-chüan lun-cheng" 想爾老子道經燉煌殘卷論證, in *CHHP*, new series, I.2 (T'aipei, April 1957) p. 41-62. The commentary is attributed to no one else than Chang Ling, the first patriarch of the Taoist church (mid. second cent. AD). Unlike Jao Tsung-i, we feel some hesitation to accept this attribution, which after all is not attested anywhere until some five centuries after the lifetime of Chang Ling. However, the general contents of the work completely agree with the scanty information from other sources about the first phase of the Taoist religion, and this together with the fact that there is no perceptible trace of Buddhist influence in matters of doctrine or terminology proves that we have to do with a very old and extremely valuable document.

⁵ Cf. Vincent Y. C. Shih (施友忠), "Some Chinese Rebel Ideologies", *TP* XLIV (1956), p. 150-226, esp. p. 163-170, a useful survey of these problems and a first attempt towards a comparative study of some major rebellious movements from Chinese history.

⁶ Cf. Howard S. Levy, "Yellow Turban Religion and Rebellion at the end of Han", *JAOS* 76, (1956), p. 214-227, esp. p. 215.

⁷ *ib.* p. 223.

- ⁸ In 215 AD, cf. *San-kuo chih*, *Wei-chih* 1.24B.
- ⁹ *Shih-chi* 63.2a.
- ¹⁰ *BEFEO* VI, 1906, p. 388 note 1.
- ¹¹ *Chuang-tzu* III.20.
- ¹² *Shui-ching chu* (ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien) 19.1b.
- ¹³ *HHS* 60B. 18b: 或曰老子入夷狄為浮屠。
- ¹⁴ *Lieh-hsien chuan*, section X; trsl. M. Kaltenmark, *Le Lie-sien tchouan* (Pékin 1953), p. 65.
- ¹⁵ Cf. Kaltenmark, *op.cit.*, p. 1-4.
- ¹⁶ *Fukui Kōjun*, *op.cit.*, p. 260-261.
- ¹⁷ P'ei Sung-chih's commentary to *San kuo chih* 30.366, trsl. Ed. Chavannes, "Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Wei liou", *TP* VI (1905), p. 519-576.
- ¹⁸ Cf. above, ch. II note 32.
- ¹⁹ 蓋以為西出關過西域之天竺教胡 (為) 浮屠。It is not clear where the phrase ends; the words "... and instructed the barbarians" are followed by 浮屠屬弟子別號為二十九。Chavannes translates "... et arriva dans le T'ientchou (Inde) ou il enseigna les Hou. Des autres noms des disciples qui dépendent du Bouddha, il y en a en tout vingt-neuf." We can neither agree with Chavannes' interpunction nor with his translation. To render 浮屠屬弟子 as "les disciples qui dépendent du Bouddha" seems rather forced; in that case we would rather expect something like 屬浮屠 (之) 弟子. If we must accept the text as it stands, the most likely translation would be "... and the Buddha attached himself to (Lao-tzu as) a disciple", which, in view of later versions of the *hua hu* story in which Lao-tzu's disciple Yin Hsi figures as the Buddha, certainly would make sense. However, as T'ang Yung-t'ung has pointed out (*op.cit.*, p. 49-50 and p. 61), the original text of the *Wei-lüeh* probably read 教胡為浮屠 "... instructed the barbarians and became (or 'acted as') the Buddha". In a previous article, "Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole", *TP* V (1904), p. 357-447, part of which is devoted to the edicts of 1255 and 1258 pertaining to the proscription of the *Hua hu ching* and other Taoist apocrypha, Chavannes interprets 為浮屠 and analogous expressions (不耳, 為浮屠化), as far as they occur in later sources, as "les fit devenir Bouddhistes", adding, however, that the original meaning could very well have been "devint le Bouddha". The latter interpretation certainly applies here as well as in the phrase translated above from Hsiang K'ai's memorial: Lao-tzu is represented as personally converting the barbarians, and there is no evidence that the theory according to which Yin Hsi was ordered by Lao-tzu to become the Buddha had already developed as early as the third century AD. Cf. also Shibata Norikatsu 柴田宣勝, "Rōshi-kekokyō gisakusha-den ni tsuite" 老子化胡經偽作者傳に就て, *Shigaku zasshi* XLIV (1933) p. 59-81 and 200-232, esp. p. 218 sqq.
- ²⁰ *T* 2110 ch. V, p. 522.2.13 sqq.
- ²¹ Ed. Chavannes in *TP* VI (1905) p. 540 sqq.; S. Lévi in *J.As.* 1897 p. 14-20 and 1900, p. 451-463; P. Pelliot in *BEFEO* VI (1906) p. 377 sqq.
- ²² Lit. "a top-knot", 髻.
- ²³ S. Lévi (in *J.As.* 1897, p. 16 and 1900, p. 461-462) has demonstrated that this *sha-lü* 沙律 (Arch. **sa.bliwāt* > Anc. **sa.liwēt*) must be a very archaic rendering of the name Sāriputra or of a corresponding prākrit form **Sariyut*.
- ²⁴ *ib.* p. 522.2.17.
- ²⁵ One more remark about the corresponding section of the *Wei-lüeh* and Ed. Chavannes' interpretation of a particularly cryptic phrase from that passage. After having related the story of the Buddha's birth, the *Wei-lüeh* as quoted by P'ei Sung-chih proceeds:
- "In India (天竺) there was also a divine man named Sha-lü. Formerly, in the first year of Yüan-shou (2 BC) during the reign of the Han emperor Ai, the *po-shih ti-tzu* Ching Lu 景盧 was charged with a mission to the Great Yüeh-chih (for this

tradition cf. above, p. 24) where the king ordered the crownprince to instruct him orally in the Buddhist scriptures. The one who is called "the reinstated" (*fu-li* 復立) is this man . . . What is recorded in the Buddhist scriptures is analogous to . . ." (etc., as above sub 4).

According to Chavannes' interpretation, the phrase 曰復立者其人也 means that the Buddha was regarded as a "réapparition de Lao-tseu ou d'un de ses disciples". This does not make much sense: if we read this phrase in connection with the preceding passage to which it certainly belongs, we cannot but have the impression that "the reinstated" was nobody else than the crown-prince who instructed the Chinese envoy in the Buddhist sūtras. This is equally obscure, but we must not forget that we are dealing with a distorted fragment of a lost tradition. Our interpretation is, however, confirmed by Ch'en Tzu-liang's quotation from the *Hsi-yü chuan* which—if this work is indeed identical with the *Hsi-jung chuan*—probably agrees with the original much more closely than the muddled extract given by P'ei Sung-chih: the *Hsi-yü chuan* speaks about a crown-prince who *also* (i.e., like the Buddha) was born from his mother's right side, who furthermore resembled the Buddha by his bodily marks and by the other circumstances of his birth at Lumbini and therefore was named "Buddha". Thus it does not deal with Śākyamuni (as is the case in P'ei Sung-chih's version) but with a replica, a come-back, in short: with "one who was called 'the reinstated'." What connection this legend had with Ching Lu's visit to the Yüeh-chih court remains obscure, but in view of both the context of the phrase in P'ei Sung-chih's version and of the additional information furnished by Ch'en Tzu-liang's quotation there must have been some connection of this kind, and there is no reason to bring the story of the "reinstated" in connection with the *hua-hu* theory.

²⁶ T 2110 ch. VI, p. 534.3.17 = *KHMC* XIII p. 185.2.2: 魏書外國傳皇甫謐高士傳並曰桑門浮圖經老子所作

²⁷ T 2110 ch. VI p. 522.2.7: 皇甫謐云老子出關八天竺國 教胡王為浮圖。

²⁸ *Hsü po-wu chih* (ed. 祕書十八種) 7.5b.

²⁹ Cf. *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu* ch. 57.6a.

³⁰ T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 59.

³¹ For the text of the *Lao-tzu ming* see the *Chin-shih lu* 金石錄 by Chao Ming-ch'eng 趙明誠 (mid. 12th cent.), ed. by Lu Chien-ts'eng 盧見曾 (1690-1768) in 1762, ch. 15, p. 11a, and the *Li-shih* 隸釋 by Hung Kua 洪适 (1117-1184), ed. *SPTK* 3.1a. The stela with the inscription is already mentioned in the *Shui-ching chu* 水經注 by Li Tao-yüan 酈道元 (early sixth cent.); already here the text is said to have been composed by Pien Shao, who wrote it at the occasion of a sacrifice made by imperial order by the courtier Kuan Pa 管霸. Chao Ming-ch'eng and Hung Kua also attribute the inscription to Pien Shao. This attribution seems to be well-founded, although in the text of the inscription the author's name is not mentioned. We read in *HHS* 7.12a that emperor Huan in January/February 165 ordered the courtier-in-constant-attendance (*chung ch'ang-shih* 中常侍) Tso Kuan 左管 to perform a sacrifice to Lao-tzu at Hu-hsien 吾縣 (for the particular pronunciation cf. *So-yin* comm. to *Shih-chi* 63.1b) in Honan, the reputed birth-place of the sage, and in December 165/January 166 the courtier Kuan Pa 管霸 was sent out for the same purpose (*ib.* 13a). Hu-hsien was the capital of the kingdom of Ch'en 陳國, where Pien Shao according to his biography had been or possibly at that moment even was "chancellor", *hsiang* 相 (*HHS* 110 A.16a). This information, combined with the fact that Pien Shao in his biography is said to have composed, *inter alia*, "inscriptions" (銘), makes it rather probable that he was indeed the author of the *Lao-tzu ming*. There is one difficulty: Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), who must still have seen the stela with its inscription, describes it in great detail in ch. 2 of his *Chi ku lu* 集古錄 (*Ou-yang Wen-chung kung chi* 歐陽文忠公集, ed. *SPPY*, ch. 135.2a); however, he does not mention Pien Shao as the author of the text, but remarks on the contrary that some people held it to be a work of the famous scholar Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕 (133-192 AD).

There is, indeed, some slight support for this attribution: according to Ts'ai Yung's biography (*HHS* 90B.10b), one of the courtiers who recommended him (and with whom he consequently must have been in close contact) was the powerful eunuch Tso Kuan 左權, the same person who early in 165 AD was sent out to perform the sacrifice to Lao-tzu at Hu-hsien. We could suppose that Ts'ai Yung had done the writing; he was the greatest calligrapher of his time, his most renowned work being the text of five or six canonical scriptures in large *li-shu* which he was commissioned to write out in 166 AD in vermilion ink upon the stone tablets in which they were to be engraved. However, Ou-yang Hsiu definitely says that according to some people Ts'ai Yung "made" (作) the inscription, which implies that he was held to have composed the text and not merely to have written it out.

The idea of the successive manifestations of Lao-tzu has probably been formed under Buddhist influence in the course of the second century AD; cf. also the curious enumeration of *avatāras* of Tung-fang Shuo from the era of the Yellow Emperor onward, given by Ying Shao 應劭 (ca. 140-206 AD) in his *Feng-su t'ung-i 風俗通義* (ed. Centre Franco-Chinois, Peking 1943) p. 16.

³² *HHS* 110A.16a.

³³ According to Po Yüan's biography in *KSC* I 327.1.13, his original surname was Wan 萬; he was not only Chinese, but even the son of a Confucian scholar named Wan Wei-ta 萬威達. I do not see the reason of Pelliot's statement that "son nom de famille était Po 帛, dont Wan est ne par altération graphique" (*BEFEO* VI, 1906, p. 380 note 2). For Po Yüan see above, p. 76.

³⁴ *Chi-chiu* 祭酒, originally a honorific term designating the eldest among the guests at a banquet who was entitled to pour out the wine as a sacrifice. During the Han it was a semi-official title given to various prominent personalities (see above, ch. II, note 91); under the Chin it became the official title of a magistrate attached to the State College (*kuo-tzu chien* 國子監) and remained so till the end of the Ch'ing dynasty in the 20th century. In T'ang times *chi-chiu* also designated a master of ceremonies at the court of a king (cf. des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires*, vol. I, p. 442, note 5). However, the term *chi-chiu* had developed quite another function in the second half of the second century AD: it then became one of the highest official titles in the theocratic hierarchy of the "Eastern" Yellow Turbans led by Chang Lu 張魯. In this organisation the "libationers" formed a kind of regional supervisors, each being entrusted with the control over a large diocese. Their rank was immediately below that of Chang Lu, the "Lord Master-of Heaven" 天師君 himself. In later times the title has come denote a Taoist dignitary of a much lower grade, a member of a kind of parish council presided by the Taoist master (道帥), and it is no doubt in this sense that the term is used here. Cf. Maspero, *Le Taoïsme*, p. 153 and p. 45, Fukui Kōjun, *op.cit.*, p. 36, 53, 59, 114), Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, "Buddho-Taoist mixtures in the *Pa-shih i hua t'u*", *HJAS* IX (1945-'47), p. 1-12, esp. p. 4.

³⁵ By Tao-liu 道流, completed by Chu Tao-tsu 竺道祖, who died in 419; quoted in Fa-lin's *Pien cheng lun* 辯正論 ch. V, T 2110 522.2.24.

³⁶ Also named *Chung-seng chuan* 眾僧傳, in 20 ch., cf. *Liang-shu* 30.3a; quoted in the commentary of Ch'en Tzu-liang 陳子良 (probably first half seventh cent.) to *Pien cheng lun* V, T 2110 522.3.1.

³⁷ For this work see Arthur F. Wright, "Hui-chiao's *Lives of Eminent Monks*", p. 417, VI. The passage in question is quoted in Ch'en Tzu-liang's commentary to *Pien cheng lun*, *loc.cit.*

³⁸ It must be remarked that the *KSC* does not copy the biography of Po Yüan in *CSTCC* X 107.2.29 sqq.: the account of Li T'ung's visit to hell and of Wang Fou's activities only occurs in the Korean edition of the *CSTCC*, where the text literally agrees with and obviously has been copied from the *KSC*, whereas the Sung, Yüan and Ming editions do not mention this story at all. In the above-mentioned article by Shibata Norukatsu (see note 19) the author rejects—on absolutely insufficient

grounds—the authenticity of the quotations from the *Kao-seng chuan* of P'ei Tzu-yeh, the *Yu-ming lu* and the *Chin-shih tsa-lu* which we have translated above, declaring them all to be forgeries or late interpolations based on Hui-chiao's *Kao-seng chuan*. He consequently takes the *KSC* as the first account of the story of Wang Fou—a story which he therefore regards as pure fiction. This certainly goes too far. We cannot help feeling that Shibata has started from the firm conviction that the whole story of Wang Fou is a late tradition without any historical value, and that he has set out to demonstrate this by rejecting as spurious all texts which tend to prove the opposite. In such a way almost anything could be proved.

³⁹ *TP* VI, 1905, p. 539-544.

⁴⁰ *KHMC* IX 152.1.1.

⁴¹ *KHMC* XI 162.2.13.

⁴² *KSC* I 328.3.6 sqq., and above, p. 203.

⁴³ Cf. *CSTCC* IX 64.2.10; X 71.2.18; 72.1.1; 73.2.29.

⁴⁴ *KSC* I 328.3.18.

⁴⁵ For the later history of the *Hua hu ching* see Fukui Kōjun, *op.cit.*, p. 267-324; Ed. Chavannes in *TP* V, 1904, p. 375-385 and VI, 1905, p. 539-542; P. Pelliot in *BEFEO* III, 1903, p. 318-327; Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Manichéen* p. 116 sqq.

⁴⁶ Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊 has given a useful synoptic list of the titles of Taoist scriptures (including the *Hua hu ching*) quoted in Buddhist treatises, in *Dōkyō kyōden shi ron* 道教經典史論, Tōkyō 1955, p. 407-422.

⁴⁷ Cf. T 2108, 集沙門不應拜俗等事 ch. V, p. 470.1.25 quoting *Chin-tai tsa-lu*; T 2110 (辯正論) ch. VI p. 534.3.28 and T 2051 (法琳別傳) ch. II p. 209.2.7. On the meaning of the title cf. Fukui Kōjun, *op.cit.*, p. 266.

⁴⁸ 求, add 衣, cf. *KHMC* IX 145.3.18 (*Hsiao tao lun* quoting the *Wen-shih chuan* 文始傳): 王求衣悔過.

⁴⁹ *Che-fu* 赭服 or *che-i* 赭衣, the russet garments worn by criminals. The custom dates from pre-Han times and is already mentioned in *Hsün-tzu* (chapter *Cheng-lun* 正論, *Hsün-tzu* XVIII.218) where it is given as an example of "symbolic punishment", *hsiang-hsing* 象刑. In a fragment from the *Feng-su t'ung-i* quoted in *TPYL* (ed. Centre franco-chinois, Pékin 1943, p. 110) is said that Ch'in Shih-huang-ti ordered the conscript labourers who built the Great Wall to wear the read dress of criminals in order to make the fugitives easily recognizable, cf. also Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, vol. II, p. 156, note 1. See further Dubs, *HFHD*, vol. II, appendix II, p. 123 sqq.: "Punishments by altering the clothing"; Karlgren, "Glosses on the Book of Documents", *BMFEA* XX, 1948, p. 87, gloss 1267; Wilbur, *Slavery in China during the Former Han Dynasty*, p. 273, note 5; Hulswé, *Remnants of Han Law*, p. 347.

⁵⁰ *P'ien-i* 偏衣, "incomplete dress", refers to the monk's gown (*kāśāya*) which leaves the left shoulder bare.

⁵¹ T 2110 (*Pien cheng lun*) VI 535.1.10 = *KHMC* XIII 185.2.13 sqq. The last phrases (from "This is why a grave disease...") occur only in the version of the *Pien cheng lun* which is reproduced in *KHMC*.

⁵² *Chang-liu* 丈六, the height of the *nirmānakāya* 泥洹 of the Buddha.

⁵³ Quoted in *Hsiao tao lun*, *KHMC* IX 144.2.14 sqq.

⁵⁴ *Liu (shen-)t'ung* 六(神)通 = *ṣaḍ-abhijñā*, the six supernatural powers acquired by a Buddha, an Arhat or a Bodhisattva of one of the highest stages: (1) magic power, *rddhi*, 如意; (2) the "divine eye", *divyacakṣus*, 天眼; (3) the "divine ear", *divyaśrotra*, 天耳; (4) the knowledge of other people's thoughts, *paracittajñāna*, 他心智; (5) the power of remembering previous existences, *pūrvanivāsānusmṛti*, 自識宿命; (6) the knowledge of the destruction of (evil) outflows, *āśravakṣayajñāna*, 漏盡智. More frequent is a list of five *abhijñā* in which the last one is lacking. Cf. Lamotte, *Traité* p. 328-333; survey of different lists and detailed discussion of each term in Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva doctrine*, p. 106-134. It is only natural that the transcendent powers of perception (洞視洞聽) and the power of levitation (騰空) of

the Taoist adept came to be amalgamated with the five or six *abhijñā* of the Buddhist Saint, notably with the "divine eye", the "divine ear" and with the *ṛddhi*, which indeed includes the power of flying through the air as one of the four kinds of magic transportation (*gamana*). In fact, we find this identification already made in the second chapter of Chih Ch'ien's *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching* 太子瑞應本起經 of the early third century (Kyōto ed. p. 238 A1), where *divyacakṣus* and *divyaśrotra* are rendered by 徽視 and 洞聽 respectively.

⁵⁵ *Ssu-ta* 四通 is probably a mistake for *san-ta* 三達, i.e., the three kinds of wisdom (*tisro vidyāh*) which the Buddha attains at the moment of Enlightenment, and which are identical with three of the *abhijñā* mentioned in the previous note: *divyacakṣus* 天眼, *pūrvanivāsānusmṛti* 自識宿命 and *āśravakṣayajñāna* 漏盡智. Har Dayal (*op.cit.*, p. 108) regards the "three kinds of wisdom" as the starting-point of the evolution of the series of five or six *abhijñā*, but it is rather futile to speculate about the historical development of such notions of Buddhism in its very first stage of scholastic elaboration. "Superhuman qualities" (*uttarimanussa-dhamma*) acquired by the monk in the course of his training are mentioned in the earliest part of the Buddhist canon (*Pātimokkha*). Such supernormal powers and the methods to acquire these no doubt belong to the earliest nucleus of Buddhism, irrespective of their number or way of classification, and are probably even pre-Buddhist, belonging to the realm of *yoga* which was, if not the very essence, at least an essential part of the primitive doctrine (cf. L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Nirvāṇa*, Paris 1925, p. 10 sqq.). The *ssu-ta* 四通 of our text may be the result of a confusion of *san-ta* 三達 with the expression *ssu-ta* "penetrating the four (quarters)", as it e.g., occurs in *Tao te ching* 10: 明白四通. 能無知乎, "In penetrating the four quarters with your intelligence, can you be without knowledge?" (trsl. Duyvendak, reading 知 i. st. of 為, cf. p. 36 and 39). In this text from the *Wen-shih chuan* it is evident from the context that the term *ssu-ta* (balancing *liu-t'ung* 六通) can only be interpreted as "the four *ta*". The *ssu-ta* mentioned in *Chou-li* 15.23a (凡為邑者以四通示其功事) are of course out of the question.

⁵⁶ Quoted in *Hsiao tao lun*, KHMC IX 145.3.11. On the *Wen-shih chuan*, a Taoist apocryphal work, the nucleus of which was a hagiographic account of the life of Yin Hsi with additions dating from the second half of the sixth century, see Fukui Kōjun, *op.cit.* p. 291 sqq., and H. Maspero, *Le Taoisme*, p. 176, note 3.

⁵⁷ Read, with the Ming edition, 始者 i. st. of 始老.

⁵⁸ Quoted in *Hsiao tao lun*, KHMC IX 145.3.22.

⁵⁹ *ib.* 145.3.17.

⁶⁰ *ib.* 151.1.17.

⁶¹ The quotation from the *Ch'u-chi* has 考殺 "tried and killed"; I read, with the quotation from the *Tsao-li t'ien-ti ching* (cf. below, note 62), 打殺 "slew", taking 考 (also written 攷) to be a graphic error for 打.

⁶² *ib.* 144.2.20; *id.* quoted from the *Tsao-li t'ien-ti ching* 造立天地經, *ib.* p. 150.1.4.

⁶³ *ib.* 147.2.16. It may be remarked in passing that such phantastic etymological explanations of Sanskrit words are not seldom found in Taoist apocrypha. The word *Yu-p'o-sai* 優婆塞 (*upāsaka*) is connected with a story about an Indian king who was distressed (*yu*, 憂!) about his son who had to guard the pass (*sai*) against bands of robbers (the *p'o* is not accounted for, much to the amusement of the author of the *Hsiao tao lun* who asks where the "mother-in-law" comes in); an analogous explanation is given for *yu-p'o-i* 優婆夷 (*upāsikā*) (quoted in *Hsiao tao lun*, KHMC IX 147.2.26). Because the Buddhists "destroy and damage" (*t'u-hai* 屠害) their natural complexion, the name of the Buddha contains the syllable *t'u* 屠 "to slaughter" in the archaic transcription *Fou-t'u* 浮屠; *sang-men* 喪門 (apparently a variant of the archaic *sang-men* 桑門 = *śramaṇa*) means "the gate of (mourning =) death", etc. (*San-p'o lun* 三破論, a Taoist polemic treatise by Chang Jung 張融 (died 497) quoted in the *Mieh huo lun* 滅惑論 by Liu Hsieh 劉勰, HMC 50.3.5).

⁶⁴ Quoted in *Hsiao tao lun*, *KHMC IX* 144.2.21.

⁶⁵ *ib.* 146.1.1.

⁶⁶ On this work and its date see T'ang Yung-t'ung, *op. cit.*, p. 462 sqq.

⁶⁷ Wei-wei 維衛 (Arch. **d̥i*wər.g̥iwad, Anc. **ɿ*wi.j̥i wäi) is normally a transcription of the name Vipaśyin (cf. above, p. 278 sub 4). Here obviously the Buddha's birth-place Kapilavastu is meant, which we find transcribed, *inter alia*, as Chia-wei-lo-wei 迦維羅衛, Chia-i-wei 迦夷衛 and Wei-yeh 維耶, cf. Akanuma Chizen 赤沼智善, *Indo-bukkyō koyū-meishi jiten* 印度佛教固有名稱辭典 (Nagoya 1931), vol. I, p. 281.1.

⁶⁸ This text as quoted in *Nan-Ch'i shu* 54.4a = *Nan-shih* 75.11a has Ching-miao 淨妙 i.st. of Ch'ing-miao 清妙. The queen's name at first sight seems to be quite "Taoist" without any connection with Māyā, the name of Gautama's mother. However, it must be noted that in Ch. I of the *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching* (T 185, trsl. by Chih Ch'ien in 222-229 AD), Kyōto ed. p. 234 A2 we find already the name of Māyā transcribed as Miao (Arch. **m̥i*og/Anc. *m̥i*ōu), and it is certain that the account of the *Hsüan-miao nei-p'ien* is based upon the story of the Buddha's birth as it is given in this sūtra. The correspondence between the two texts is obvious:

Hsüan-miao nei-p'ien

老子入關之子天竺維衛國
國王夫人名清妙
老子因其晝寢
乘日之精入清妙口中
後年四月八日夜半時
剖右腋而生
隨地即行七步舉手指天曰
天上天下唯我為尊
三界皆苦何可樂者

T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching

託生天竺迦維羅衛國……
夫人曰妙節義溫良……
菩薩初下化乘白象冠日之精
回母晝寢而示聖焉從右脇入……
至四月八日夜明星出時
從右脇生
隨地即行七步舉右手位而言
天上天下唯我為尊
三界皆苦何可樂者

⁶⁹ According to the legendary account of the Buddha's birth, the Bodhisattva entered Māyā's womb in the form of a white elephant with six tusks when she was having a siesta during the Midsummer Festival. In the early Chinese accounts of the Buddha's life (T 184, T 185) the future Buddha is said to have descended from the Tuṣṭita heaven seated on a white elephant; the same tradition is found in the *Mou-tzu* and in Fa-hsien's itinerary (cf. Pelliot in *TP XIX*, 1920, p. 336 note 35). Here, however, we find no trace of this story, the only element which has remained from the original legend being that Lao-tzu's *avatāra* took place when the queen "was sleeping in the daytime". Lao-tzu, who as a Taoist adept has the power to transform his body, apparently changes himself into the light of the sun which shines upon the queen's body. The miraculous conception through the mouth is a theme which figures in a number of Chinese stories about the birth of very prominent men; in these legends the conception results from swallowing some object, particularly eggs. Cf. e.g., *Shih-ching*, ode 245 (*Ta-ya* II.1, Legge p. 465, Couvreur p. 347, Karlgren p. 260), *Shih-chi* 3.1a (*Mém. hist.* I 173-174); *Shih-chi* 5.1a (*Mém-hist.* II 1-2).

⁷⁰ The original text of the *Hsüan-miao nei-p'ien* (or *Hsüan-miao ching* 玄妙經) probably read "the right arm-pit" 右腋, in keeping with the Indian tradition about the Bodhisattva's miraculous birth at Lumbinī. The earliest source in which this passage occurs (the *I-Hsia lun* 夷夏論 of ca. 470 quoted in *HMC VI* 37.2.17 and in *Nan-Ch'i shu* 54.4a = *Nan-shih* 75.11a) reads 右 "right", whereas according to later quotations from the same scripture (in *Hsiao tao lun*) Lao-tzu was born from Ch'ing-miao's left side. The change from right to left is understandable: in general, left is the direction which corresponds with the male principle (*yang*) (cf. M. Granet, *Pensée chinoise*, p. 369); Lao-tzu is born as a man and teacher and has used the essence of the sun to incarnate himself, whereas the Taoist doctrine according to other apocrypha (see below, p. 306) is also opposed to Buddhism as *yang* is to *yin*. However, the tradition that Lao-tzu was born from his (Chinese) mother's left side is much

older than the sixth century. In Lao-tzu's "biography" in the *Shen-hsien chuan* 神仙傳 by Ko Hung 葛洪 (mid. fourth cent.) it is already said that he "ripped open his mother's left arm-pit and was born" 剖母左腋而生 (ed. *Shuo-k'ü* 1.1a).

⁷¹ These lines are of course a Taoist adaption of the famous stanzas which the future Buddha is said to have recited immediately after his birth. For the Buddhist tradition and the many different versions of the Buddha's first words see P. Mus, *Barabudur*, p. 475 sqq.; additional information, esp. from Chinese sources, in Et. Lamotte, *Traité* p. 6 note 3. The text of the stanzas which we find here recited by Lao-tzu is identical with the one contained in Chih-ch'ien's translation of the *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching*, cf. above, note 68. It must be noted that the words "This is my last birth" 是最末復身 (*iyam me paścimā jātiḥ*), which occur in all other versions, are lacking in this short biography of the Buddha as well as in the text of the *Hsüan-miao nei-p'ien*.

⁷² *Hsüan-miao nei-p'ien* 玄妙內篇 (once quoted as *Hsüan-miao ching* 玄妙經 in *Hsiao tao lun*, *KHMC* IX 148.3.19), quoted in Ku Huan's *I-Hsia lun*, which in turn is reproduced in (1) *Cheng erh-chiao lun*, 正二教論 by Ming Seng-shao 明僧紹 (early sixth cent.), *HMC* VI 37.2.15; (2) *Nan-Ch'i shu* 54.4a; (3) *Nan-shih* 75.11a; furthermore quoted in Chen Luan's *Hsiao tao lun* (570 AD) in *KHMC* IX 146.1.9, 148.2.24, 148.3.19.

⁷³ This scripture is only known from a few short quotations in *Hsiao tao lun*. The title is incomprehensible; besides *Hsiao-ping* 水 *ching* the variant title *Hsiao-shui* 水 *ching* occurs in the bibliographic sections of both T'ang histories (*T'ang-shu ching-chi i-wen ho chih* 唐書經籍藝文合志, Peking 1956, p. 181). Fukui Kōjun proposes, though hesitatingly, to read *hsüan* 玄 i.st. of *ping* 冰 or *shui* 水 (*op.cit.*, p. 290).

⁷⁴ Quoted in *Hsiao tao lun*, *KHMC* IX 146.1.6.

⁷⁵ *Ch'eng fo wei-shen* 承佛威神, the standard translation of *buddhasya* (or *buddhānām*) *adhiṣṭhānena*, "by the controlling (or: sustaining) power of the Buddha(s)". It is not clear to me what meaning must be attached to this well-known formula in this context.

⁷⁶ Quoted in *Hsiao tao lun*, *KHMC* IX 145.3.18.

⁷⁷ T 2036 XXVII p. 719.1; cf. Ed. Chavannes in *TP* V (1904) p. 376, note 1.

⁷⁸ Pelliot 3404 (containing the text of the eight chapter, entitled 老子化胡經 受道卷第八, published in *Tun-huang pi-chi liu-chen hsün-pien* vol. II, p. 34-48) and Pelliot 4502 (= T 2139, containing the introductory chapter 序說 of the *Lao-tzu hsi-sheng hua hu ching* 老子西昇化胡經, cf. Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Manichéen*, p. 144, note 1, and Fukui Kōjun, *op.cit.*, p. 267 sqq.).

⁷⁹ *Tun-huang pi-chi liu-chen hsün-pien* 敦煌秘籍留真新編, T'aipei 1947, vol. II, p. 45, col. 4.

⁸⁰ T 2139 p. 1267.2.9 sqq.

⁸¹ Cf. Fukui Kōjun, *op.cit.*, p. 258; Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité manichéen*, p. 126.

⁸² *Wei-shu* 102.3a = *Pei-shih* 97.3b.

⁸³ I read, with T'ang Yung-t'ung (*op.cit.*, p. 464), 無仁 instead of 無二.

⁸⁴ *San-p'o lun* 三破論 by Chang Jung 張融 (died 497), quoted in *Mieh huo lun* 滅惑論 by Liu Hsieh 劉勰 (early sixth cent.), *HMC* VIII, 50.3.20.

⁸⁵ *ib.* 50.3.23.

⁸⁶ *Hua hu ching*, quoted in the *Pei-shan lu* 北山錄 by the monk Shen-ch'ing 神清 (T 2113, early ninth cent.) ch. V, p. 602.1.17.

⁸⁷ Read (with the Yüan, Ming and Palace ed.) 聚塵 in stead of 聚塵. For the expression *chü yu*, "to share the hind", cf. *Li-chi* I (*Ch'ü-li, chu-shu* ed. I.11a, trsl. Couvreur I.7): 夫惟禽獸無禮故父子聚麀 "it is because the birds and wild beasts have no Rites that (among them) father and son live together with the same female".

⁸⁸ *Cheng wu lun*, *HMC* I 7.1.24 sqq.

⁸⁹ *Shan hai ching*, cf. above, p. 271.

⁹⁰ Words of the Han general Pan Yung 班勇 quoted in *HHS* 118 (*Hsi-yü chuan*), and again paraphrased by Fan Yeh *ib.* p. 10a: 修淨園道不殺伐. Cf. above, p. 26.

⁹¹ *Hou-Han chi* 10.5a.

⁹² Quoted in *Nan-Ch'i shu* 54.5a = *Nan-shih* 75.12b.

⁹³ Quoted in *Hsiao tao lun*, *KHMC* IX 149.1.25.

⁹⁴ 佛者道之所生 [大乘守善] 道者自然無所從生. The words 大乘守善 ("the observation of what is good in the Mahāyāna") make no sense here and moreover interrupt the parallelism of the phrase; they seem to have crept into the text, probably as a result of careless copying.

⁹⁵ *Ch'i-ch'u* 七出, the "seven grounds for divorce", cf. *K'ung-tzu chia-yü* (ed. T'ung-wen shu-chü) VI.11b; the list corresponds to that of the *ch'i-ch'ü* 七去 of the *Ta-Tai li-chi* ch. XIII (section 80, 奉命), p. 6a, trsl. R. Wilhelm, *Das Buch der Sitte*, p. 248. Neither of these lists includes drinking wine, which probably fell under the category of *yin* 淫, "debauchery".

⁹⁶ *Shou i* 守一, "guarding unity" or "keeping to the One", originally a Taoist term indicating a certain state of mental concentration; in early Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures it is also used for *dhyāna*. The expression probably derives from *Chuang-tzu* XI.65: 我守一以處其和, or from the opening words of *Tao te ching* 10: 載營魂抱一. Cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *History*, p. 110-111 and Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, *Lao-tzu hsiang-erh chu chiao-chien* 老子想爾注校釋 (Hongkong 1956), p. 63-65. However, in this context it must mean something quite different: "to guard (one's chastity) with concentrated attention"?

⁹⁷ Quoted in *Hsiao tao lun*, *HMC* IX 146.3.2. The explanation of Buddhist ideas in terms of traditional Chinese cosmology (*yin-yang* and the five elements) was by no means restricted to Taoist circles. It occurs in a much more developed form in the remaining fragments of the Buddhist forgery known as "The Sūtra of Trapaṣa and Bhallika" 提謂波利經, a popular apocryphal work composed ca. 460 AD by the famous organizer of the Northern Church, T'an-yao 曇曜. Here we find a bizarre classificatory system in which the five Buddhist commandments are made to correspond to the five planets, the five sacred mountains, the five intestines, the five elements, the five (mythical) emperors, the five colours, etc. Cf. Tsukamoto Zenryū, 支那の在家佛教特に庶民佛教の一經典, in *Tōhōgaku* III, 1941, p. 313-369, esp. p. 331 sqq.

⁹⁸ *ib.* 152.1.6.

⁹⁹ *ib.* 146.3.16.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. above, p. 81, note 1.

¹⁰¹ *CSTCC* V 38.2.7 sqq.

¹⁰² *ib.* 38.3.17 sqq.

¹⁰³ T 2146 ch. IV, p. 138.1.8 sqq.

¹⁰⁴ *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching* ch. I, Kyōto ed. p. 234 A2: 及其變化隨時而現或為聖帝或作儒林之宗國師道士在所現化不可稱記. Analogous passage in T 6, an anonymous fourth century version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, ch. I, p. 182.2.9.

¹⁰⁵ Here the term *ch'u-ch'u* 出處 balances the *fa-chih* 發致 of the previous sentence, and consequently must not be interpreted as an antithetic compound ("departure and stay"), but as attributive word-group: "departing-place, point of departure". Hurvitz (p. 27) mistranslates: "... that the departure from the private life and the remaining in it are truly different".

¹⁰⁶ Hui-yüan here paraphrases the passage from the *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching* translated above (cf. note 104).

¹⁰⁷ *Sha-men pu-ching wang-che lun* section IV, *HMC* V 31.1.18, trsl. Hurvitz, p. 27-28.

¹⁰⁸ *KHMC* XXVII 304.1.26.

¹⁰⁹ *HMC* I 7.2.1.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Fukui Kōjun, *op.cit.*, p. 294-296. A work named *Hsi-sheng ching* 西昇經 occurs in the Taoist canon (*Tao-ts'ang* vol. 346-347 and 449-450); it professes to be a record of Lao-tzu's words to Yin Hsi before their departure to the West. This work indeed begins with the words: "Lao-tzu ascended to the West to open up (開 instead of 闢!) the Way in Chu-ch'ien; (there) he was called Master Ku. He skilfully entered *Nirvāna*; without having either beginning or end he will exist continuously" 老子西昇開道竺乾。疏古先生善入無為。不終不始。永存綿綿。 But on the other hand the rest of the present text of the *Hsi-sheng ching* does not contain any reference to the *hua hu* legend, so that this work cannot be identical with the ancient *Hsi-sheng ching* which we find often quoted in Buddhist apologetic treatises as one of the main exponents of the *hua hu* story. Cf. also P. Pelliot in *BEFEO* III, p. 322-327; IV 379 and VIII 515-519, and Kenneth K. S. Ch'en in *HJAS* IX p. 2 note 4.

¹¹¹ Quoted in *Hsiao tao lun*, *KHMC* IX 152.1.13; same phrase quoted from the (*Lao-tzu*) *hsi-sheng ching* 老子西昇經 in Tao-an's *Erh-chiao lun* 二教論, *KHMC* VIII 139.3.6, and in Fa-lin's *Pien cheng lun* ch. V, T 2110, p. 524.1.18.

¹¹² I read 去後 instead of 劫後, cf. in the next phrase the words 老子去後百年.

¹¹³ She-wei 舍衛 (*Śrāvastī*) seems to be a mistake for Wei-wei 維衛 (*Kapilavastu*, cf. *supra*, p. 301 and note 67).

¹¹⁴ This number is certainly a mistake. Since practically all texts agree in saying that the Buddha entered *Nirvāna* at the age of eighty, I propose to correct this "forty-nine" 四十九 into "seventy-nine" 七十九.

¹¹⁵ This passage is certainly based upon ch. III of the (*Mahāyāna*) *Mahāparinirvānasūtra* (trsl. by Dharmakṣema in 414-419 AD, T 374 p. 379.3-380.1 = Southern recension, T 375, p. 619.2-620.1), where we find the twenty-two stanzas in which the Bodhisattva Kāśyapa puts thirty-odd questions to the Buddha. The number 36 seems incorrect; I have been unable to count more than 32 questions in this passage. It must be noted that here Lao-tzu is not identified with the disciple Mahākāśyapa, the aged *śrāvaka* from Sāgala, but with a Bodhisattva named Kāśyapa who only seems to occur in the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvānasūtra*. In this *sūtra* he is described as a young man from a brahman family, born in the village of To-lo 多羅 (*Tāla?*).

¹¹⁶ Quoted in *Hsiao tao lun*, *KHMC* IX 148.2.27.

¹¹⁷ The village of To-lo is mentioned in the *Mahāparinirvānasūtra* (*loc.cit.*) as the birth-place of the Bodhisattva Kāśyapa, see note 115 above.

¹¹⁸ Quoted in *Hsiao tao lun*, *KHMC* IX 149.1.2.

¹¹⁹ I read, with T 2109 p. 162.2.12, *ts'ai* 採 inst. of *chiang* 將.

¹²⁰ *Yu-i'an hua* 優曇花, the blossoms of the *uḍumbara* tree (*ficus glomerata*) which symbolize the appearance of a Buddha in the world on account of their extreme rarity (the tree is said to produce fruits without having flowered). Cf. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten* p. 224.2.

¹²¹ Quoted in *Hsiao tao lun*, *KHMC* IX 151.3.28 and in Fa-lin's *P'o hsieh lun* 破邪論 ch. I, T 2109 p. 477.3.17 (= *KHMC* XI 162.2.12). In *Fa-yüan chu-lin* LV 706.1. these lines and the next four ("Why is the Buddha born so late . . .") are not separated but quoted as one continuous poem.

¹²² Quoted in Fa-lin's *Pien cheng lun* ch. V, T 2110, p. 524.1.19.

¹²³ Quoted by Chen Luan in *Hsiao tao lun*, *KHMC* IX 152.1.14, by Fa-lin in *P'o hsieh lun* ch. I, T 2109, p. 477.3.9 (= *KHMC* XI 161.3.2) and by Tao-hsüan in *KHMC* I 98.2.27; cf. also *Fa-yüan chu-lin* LV 705.3.

¹²⁴ Fu lang 苻朗, *izu* Yüan-ta 元達, was the son of an elder brother of Fu Chien 苻堅, the Tibetan ruler of the Former Ch'in dynasty; he has a short biography in *CS* 114.7a. Under Fu Chien he was made General Commander of the East 鎮東將軍 and governor of Ch'ing-chou 青州. When the Tibetan army was completely routed at the famous battle of Fei-shui 肥水 (383), he surrendered to the Chin (according

to CS 9.7b, his surrender took place in November 383), and was subsequently sent to the Chin court at Chienk'ang, where he was given a honorary function in the palace. His scholarly abilities, his proficiency in *ch'ing-t'an* and his great renown as a gastronome made the Tibetan prince very popular at the Chinese court; among his acquaintances we find the Buddhist master Chu Fa-t'ai 竺法汰 (*Ch'in-shu* 秦書 by P'ei Ching-jen 裴景仁, quoted in *Comm. to SSHY* III B/14a, and CS 114.7a). Before long, he incurred the enmity of the powerful war-lord Wang Kuo-pao 王國寶 who caused him to be executed. Acc. to CS 114.17b his execution took place when Wang Kuo-pao's brother Wang Ch'en 王侁 had just been nominated governor of Ching-chou, which acc. to *TCTC* 107.1266a took place in August/September 390. Fu Lang was the author of a philosophical work patterned after the *Chuang-tzu*, the *Fu-tzu* 符子, in 30 (var. 20) *chüan*, which has been lost, probably since late T'ang times. Yen K'o chün 嚴可均 has collected some fifty fragments of this work, mostly quotations found in early encyclopedias, and has published these in ch. 152 of his monumental *Ch'üan Chin wen* 全晉文 (see also the remarks in his preface to this chapter). Apart from the phrase which we have translated here, the existing fragments of the *Fu-tzu* do not contain any Buddhist ideas or themes. But Buddhist influence is very clear in the first lines of his "farewell-poem" which he composed immediately before his execution: "From what cause do the four Great Elements (四大: *mahābhūta*) arise? They are gathered and dispersed (again) without end . . .". In Buddhist texts the title of the *Fu-tzu* is invariably written 符子, with the "bamboo" radical instead of the "grass" radical. This is, however, no indication that another work is meant. In fact, we find the same reading in the bibliographical sections of the *Sui-shu* (ch. 34.2b), the *Chiu T'ang-shu* (ch. 27.3a) and the *Hsin T'ang-shu* (ch. 49.3a), as well as in *TCTC* 107.1266a. In all bibliographies the *Fu-tzu* is included in the section of the "Taoist philosophers".

¹²⁵ Quoted in *Hsiao tao lun*, *KHMC* IX 152.1.13, in Fa-lin's *P'o hsieh lun* ch. 1, T 2109 p. 478.3.6 (= *KHMC* XI 161.3.3) and by Tao-hsüan in *KHMC* I 98.2.27; cf. also *Fa-yüan chu-lin* LV 705.3.

¹²⁶ The oldest Chinese account of the story of Sumedha is to be found in the first chapter of the late second century *Hsiu hsing pen-ch'i ching* 修行本起經 (T 184, Kyōto ed. p. 224B2 sqq.). For an extensive bibliography on this subject see Lamotte, *Traité*, vol. I, p. 248, n. 2.

¹²⁷ *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching* (T 185, trsl. 223-229 AD) ch. I, Kyōto ed. p. 234A1. For a curious very late survival or revival of the identification of Confucius with Buddhist saints cf. Ferdinand D. Lessing, "Bodhisattva Confucius" (*Oriens*, X, 1957, p. 110-113, describing an eighteenth century ritual in the Lama temple at Peking).

¹²⁸ *CSTCC* V 39.1.15; also mentioned as a forgery in T 2146, Fa-ching's *Chung-ching mu-lu*, ch. II, p. 126.3.30 and in T 2147, ch. IV, p. 173.3.4.

¹²⁹ T 2146, ch. II, p. 126.3.19, also mentioned in T 2147, ch. IV, p. 173.2.20.

¹³⁰ In the present canon we find two early versions of this sūtra: (A) T 534, *Yüeh-kuang t'ung-tzu ching* 月光童子經, the translation of which is unanimously ascribed to Dharmarakṣa; this text does not contain the prediction of Yüeh-kuang's future life in China; (B) T 535, the *Shen-jih ching* 申日經, a somewhat condensed (or not yet developed) version of the same sūtra, which in the Taishō edition of the canon is attributed to Dharmarakṣa just like the preceding work, but which, according to an anonymous colophon at the end of the scripture, would actually have been translated by Chih Ch'ien. The latter attribution may be correct: firstly, because it is highly improbable that Dharmarakṣa translated the same sūtra twice, and secondly, because the earliest catalogues all mention a *Yüeh-ming t'ung-tzu ching* 月明童子經 (clearly a variant title of the same sūtra) translated by Chih Ch'ien (*CSTCC* II 6.3.26; T 2146 ch. I p. 115.3.22 etc.). The text of T 535 contains, moreover, a translator's (or editor's) note to the name of the crownprince (transcribed

旃羅法, Arch. **ñan.lā.pīwāp* > Anc. **tsjān.lā.pīwāp* = Candraprabha) saying: "In the language of Han this means *yüeh-kuang t'ung-tzu*, 'the boy (named) Moon-light'." In view of the general practice in Buddhist translations to refer to the Chinese language as "the language of (the reigning dynasty) X", this note indicates that the sūtra in question was translated by some master active in or shortly after the Han and not by Dharmarakṣa, whose period of activity roughly coincides with the Western Chin (265-316 AD).

If this attribution is correct, it would mean that the theory of Candraprabha's future *avatāra* as a Chinese monarch was already known in the first half of the third century AD. It is not necessarily a Chinese invention: the country of (Mahā)cina (China) sporadically figures in Indian Buddhist literature, and it may well be that some "prediction" of this kind had developed in Indian or Central Asian Buddhism after the Chinese expansion on the Asian continent in the second century BC. However, here we have certainly to do with a typically Chinese version of this legend, as appears from the undoubtedly Chinese list of foreign countries and barbarian tribes which is given in this sūtra: 鄯善烏長歸茲疏勒大宛于填及諸羌夷夷狄

For a detailed discussion of the different early versions of the *Shen-jih ching* see Hayashiya Tomojirō 林屋友次郎, *Iyaku kyōrui no kenkyū* 異譯經類の研究, Tōkyō 1945, ch. VIII (p. 410-435).

¹³¹ T 535, p. 819.2.1.

¹³² T 545, ch. II, p. 849.2.20.

¹³³ The *Ch'ing-ching fa-hsing ching* in one *chüan* is mentioned by Seng-yu among the "anonymous translations" in *CSTCC* IV 29.1.21; the same qualification in *Ta-T'ang nei-tien lu* ch. I, T 2149, p. 225.3.14 and in *Ku-chin i-ching t'u-chi* 古今譯經圖紀 ch. I, T 2151 p. 351.1.4. It is classed among the "suspected scriptures" in T 2146 (Fa-ching's *Chung-ching mu-lu*) ch. II p. 126.2.17; id. in T 2147 (Yen Ts'ung's *Chung-ching mu-lu*) ch. IV, p. 172.3.8; T 2154 (*K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu*) ch. I, p. 485.1.21 and ch. XX, p. 669.3.6; in T 2157 (*Chen-yüan hsin-ting shih-chiao mu-lu* 貞元新定釋教目錄) ch. XXVIII, p. 1015.3.20 with the remark 記說孔老顏回事, etc. The only catalogue in which the work is attributed to a translator is T 2153 (*Ta-Chou k'anting chung-ching mu-lu*) ch. VII, p. 411.1.14: here the sūtra is said to have been translated by Dharmarakṣa, for which information the compilers of the catalogue refer to a mysterious bibliography entitled *Ta-yü-to-lo lu* 達鬱多羅錄 ("the Catalogue of Dha[rm]ottara"?). This catalogue is only known from T 2153, where it is quoted or referred to a few times; no further information is given about the date of its composition or about the author. Of course we should not attach any value to this attribution.

¹³⁴ *CSTCC* IV 29.1.21.

¹³⁵ *KHMC* XXIV 279.3.6: 是以關里儒童闡禮經於洙濟 于縣迦葉遷妙道於流沙

¹³⁶ T 1331 ch. VI, p. 512.2.4: 閻浮界內有震旦國我道三聖 在中化道人民慈哀禮表具足

¹³⁷ *Li-tai san-pao chi* ch. VII, T 2034, p. 69.1.10; *Ta-T'ang nei-tien lu* ch. III, T 2149, p. 244.2.26.

¹³⁸ *CSTCC* V 39.1.21; T 2146 (Fa-ching's *Chung-ching mu-lu*) ch. IV 138.3.25.

¹³⁹ Quoted in *Po Ku tao-shih I-hsia lun* 教願道士夷夏論 by Hui-t'ung 慧 (var. 惠) 通 (late fifth century); *HMC* VII 45.3.9.

¹⁴⁰ 使普賢戒行西路. Samantabhadra (普賢) is, as far as I know, not credited with any missionary activities in the West; on the contrary, he is commonly associated with the Eastern quarter.

¹⁴¹ Read 窠 instead of 窠.

¹⁴² *Jung-hua lun* 戎華論 by Seng-min 僧敏 (late fifth cent.), *HMC* VII 47.2.11.

¹⁴³ Quoted in Tao-an's *Erh-chiao lun*, *KHMC* VIII 140.1.6. A different version of the same "sūtra" is quoted by the T'ien-t'ai master Chih I 智顛 (547-606) in the

first chapter of his *Wei-mo-ching hsüan-shu* 維摩經玄疏 (written in 604): here the Bodhisattva Candraprabha 月光 is identified with Yen Hui, the Bodhisattva Kuang-ching 光淨 with Confucius, and Kāśyapa with Lao-tzu (T 1777 p. 523.1.16).

¹⁴⁴ Quoted in *Hsi san-p'o lun* 析三破論 by Seng-shun 僧順 (late fifth century), *HMC* VIII 53.3.1.

¹⁴⁵ Quoted in Fa-lin's *Pien cheng lun* T 2110 p. 530.1.11 (= *KHMC* XIII 181.1.8). The *K'ung-chi so-wen ching* is mentioned in Fa-ching's catalogue in the section "forgeries" (T 2046 ch. II p. 126.3.16), with the remark: "Also named *Fa-mieh-chin (ching)* 法滅盡經. This scripture is evidently a forgery, and certainly not a translation by Dharmarakṣa". The variant title as well as the attribution to Dharmarakṣa are confirmed by Seng-yu, who in the *CSTCC* among the translations by Dharmarakṣa mentions a "*Fa mo-chin ching* 法沒盡經, 1 ch., also called *K'ung-chi so-wen ching*", which entry is in most editions of the *CSTCC* followed by the words: "edited on the seventh day of the second month of the first year of *t'ai-hsi* 太熙". *T'ai-hsi* is probably a mistake for Kuang-hsi 光熙; the date would then correspond to March 8, 306 AD. Although Fa-ching states that the two titles (*K'ung-chi so-wen ching* and *Fa mieh-chin ching*) refer to the same work, both titles are separately listed in his section on "forgeries" (T 2146 ch. II p. 126.3.16 and p. 127.1.2); the same is the case in T 2147 (Yen-tsung's *Chung-ching mu-lu*) ch. IV, p. 173.1.2 and p. 173.2.15. Moreover, Fa-ching also includes among the translations attributed to Dharmarakṣa the *Fa mo-chin ching* which we found mentioned in the *CSTCC*; here no date of translation is given. We may conclude that there was indeed a work known under these two titles and attributed to Dharmarakṣa at least as early as the end of the fifth century. Since it is listed both by Seng-yu and by Fa-ching among the translations by Dharmarakṣa without further comment, we must assume that it was different from the Buddhist forged scripture of the same title(s) which Fa-ching mentions in his list of forgeries, with the cautionary remark that this is a fake, and not the sūtra of the same name translated by Dharmarakṣa which he has mentioned elsewhere.

¹⁴⁶ Quoted in Fa-lin's *P'o hsieh lun*, T 2109 p. 478.3.8. I have been unable to find any bibliographical data concerning this *Nei-tien t'ien-ti ching*.

¹⁴⁷ Quoted in Fa-lin's *P'o hsieh lun*, T 2109 p. 477.3.22 (= *KHMC* XI 162.2.17 and *Fa-yüan chu-lin* LV 706.1). I have not found any further information concerning the *Lao-tzu ta-ch'üan p'u-sa ching*.

¹⁴⁸ The text of this edict, which does not occur in the Annals of the *Liang-shu*, is reproduced in *KHMC* IV 112.1.27: *She shih Li-Lao tao fa-chao* 捨事李老道法詔.

¹⁴⁹ Quoted in Tao-an's *Erh-chiao lun*, *KHMC* VIII 140.1.18. The *Hsü-mi ssu-yü ching* is mentioned among the "forgeries" in Fa-ching's *Chung-ching mu-lu* (T 2146 ch. II, p. 127.1.10) with the remark that this work, together with twenty-two other "sūtras", had been concocted by "the King of Ching-ling, Hsiao Tzu-liang" 竟陵王蕭子良. Hsiao Tzu-liang was the second son of emperor Wu of the Southern Ch'i dynasty (483-494); he lived from 460-494 and was a great lover and patron of literature and a devout Buddhist, cf. his biography in *Nan-Ch'i shu* 40.1a and *Nan-shih* 44.3a. The *Hsü-mi ssu-yü ching* is furthermore mentioned in T 2147 (Yen-ts'ung's *Chung-ching mu-lu*) ch. IV p. 173.3.12; T 2149 (Ta-T'ang nei-tien lu) ch. X p. 334.3.28; T 2153 (*Ta-Chou k'an-ting chung-ching mu-lu*) ch. XV p. 472.2.28; T 2154 (*K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu*) ch. XVIII p. 675.3.24; T 2157 (*Chen-yüan hsün-ting shih-chiao mu-lu*) ch. XXVIII p. 1020.1.13 and 1022.1.10.

¹⁵⁰ Quoted in Fa-lin's *Pien cheng lun*, T 2110 p. 521.2.2 (= *KHMC* XIII 181.1.7). Cf. also the *Tsao-li t'ien-ti ching* (above, note 62) quoted in the *Wei-mo-ching hsüan-shu* 維摩經玄疏 (ch. I, T 1777 p. 523.1.14) by Chih-i 智顛 (604 AD): 寶應聲聞菩薩示號狀載以法皇之道東化此國。

¹⁵¹ Cf. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten* p. 528.2.

¹⁵² Cf. *Sukhāvativyūha* (larger version) 34, trsl. F. Max Müller p. 52; T 360.

¹⁵³ *Agāṇṇa-sutta*, *Dīgha* III.30, *Dialogues* III p. 81 sqq.; *Abh. Kośa* III. 181 sqq.

¹⁵⁴ *Pien cheng lun* ch. V, T 2110 p. 521.2.3.

¹⁵⁵ Quoted in Fa-lin's *P'o hsieh lun* ch. I, T 2109 p. 477.3.3, cf. *Fa-yüan chu-lin* LV 705.3.

¹⁵⁶ *ib.* p. 477.3.5.

¹⁵⁷ Hao-ming shan 鷲 (var. 鶴) 鳴山 was the name of a mountain some two hundred *li* from Ch'engt'u (Ssuch'uan); according to tradition Chang Ling had lived there in order to "study the Way". Cf. Fukui Kōjun, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

¹⁵⁸ *P'o hsieh lun* ch. I, T 2109 p. 477.3.4, cf. *Fa-yüan chu-lin* LV 705.3.

¹⁵⁹ I do not know the identity of the masters Han P'ing-tzu and Chien P'ing-tzu, Wu Shih 午室 is certainly a mistake for Yü 于 (or Kan 干) Shih 室 (or Chi 吉) the Taoist master who is mostly called Yü Chi, the founder of the *T'ai-p'ing tao* 太平道 branch of the early Taoist church (first half second cent. AD); for the many variant ways of writing his name see Fukui Kōjun, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

¹⁶⁰ Read 號佛 instead of 佛號.

¹⁶¹ Quoted in *Hsiao tao lun*, *KHMC* IX, 147.3.15.

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I. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Abh. Kośa* = *Abhidharmakośa*, see s.v. Vallée Poussin, L. de la —
As. Maj. = *Asia Major*.
BEFEO = *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*.
BMFEA = *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*.
BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*.
CS = *Chin-shu*.
CSKW = *Ch'üan San-kuo wen* 全三國文, see Yen K'o-chün.
CSTCC = *Ch'u san-tsang chi chi* (T 2145, cf. p. 10).
CSW = *Ch'üan Chin-wen* 全晉文, see Yen K'o-chün.
CYYY = *Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so chi-k'an*.
Dialogues = *Dialogues of the Buddha*, see Rhys Davids.
HFHD = *History of Former Han Dynasty*, see Dubs and collaborators.
History, = see s.v. T'ang Yung-t'ung.
HJAS = *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*.
HMC = *Hung-ming chi* (T 2102, cf. p. 13).
HS = *Han-shu*.
Hsü KSC = *Hsü kao-seng chuan* 續高僧傳, by Tao-hsüan 道宣, 596-667 (T 2062).
IWLC = *I-wen lei-chü*.
JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
J.As. = *Journal Asiatique*.
KHMC = *Kuang hung-ming chi* (T 2103, cf. p. 13).
KSC = *Kao-seng chuan* (T 2059, cf. p. 10).
Kyōto ed. = *Dainihon kōtei daizōkyō* 大日本校訂大藏經, 318 vols., Kyōto, 1902-1905.
LY = *Lun-yü*.
MCB = *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*.
Mém. Hist. = *Mémoires Historiques*, see Chavannes.
MSOS = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*.
Mvst. = *Mahāvastu*.
PCNC = *Pi-ch'iu-ni chuan* (T 2063, cf. p. 10.11).
SC = *Shih-chi*.
SKC = *San-kuo chih*.
SPPY = *Ssu-pu pei-yao*.

- SPTK = *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*.
 SSHY = *Shih-shuo hsün-yü*.
 T. = *Taishō issaikyō*.
 TCTC = *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*.
 TP = *T'oung Pao*.
 TPYL = *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*.
 TTC = *Tao te ching*.
 YCHP = *Yen-ching hsüeh-pao*.
 ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

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